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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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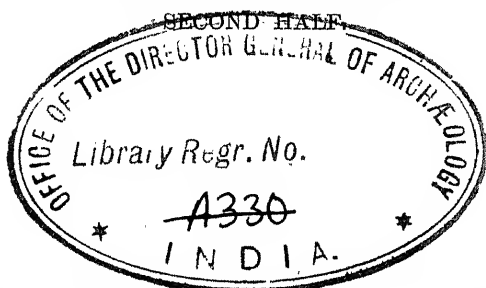
E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, AND CHARLES C. TORREY,

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven.

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven.

891.05  
J. A. O. S.

TWENTY-FOURTH VOLUME,



THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

MCMIII

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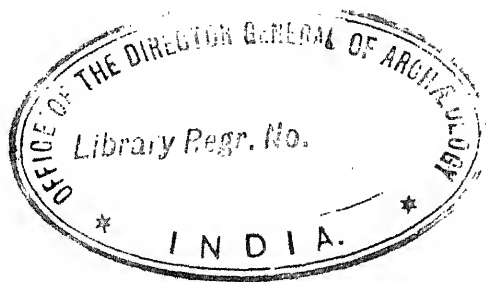
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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*A Collection of Oriental Jewish Songs.*—By Dr. J. PARISOT,  
East Douglas, Mass.

THE following melodies belong to the Jewish Community of Damascus, which, as it is historically proved, kept up, in spite of fanatical persecutions and political changes, an unbroken existence, maintaining its ancient traditions.

In May, 1901, I travelled in Syria, with the purpose of adding to a previous collection of Oriental Songs<sup>1</sup> a few more interesting documents. I sought preferably the Jewish and Muhammedan songs, and obtained, for one thing, various melodies used in the synagogues at Damascus.<sup>2</sup>

My musical harvest comprises five recitatives of Scripture reading, five melodies, and seven choruses.

The recitatives form the subject of a study on the ancient musical modes, in the forthcoming volume of the "*Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*," published by the French Government, where only a few extracts of the other songs are to be given. I now present the whole of this small but precious collection to the readers of this Journal, who will appreciate

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<sup>1</sup> "Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Turquie d'Asie. Collection de chants orientaux." *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, Vol. ix. Paris, Leroux, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> I am particularly grateful to Mr. Alshalel, the Director of the Israelite School, for the kindness with which he put the young singers at my disposal. I am pleased to remember here the names of the Hakam Juda Shattah and of Joseph Yatche, and Tawfik Sasson, who sung for me.

their musical value, and, at the same time, their religious and ritualistic importance. They may well interest any lover of music, although (or, perhaps, just because) they differ considerably from the forms familiar to us.

In fact, since the labors of Lemmens, A. Gevaert, and others on ancient music, some composers have sought to revive its inspiration, holding to the simple and strong melodies of the past; and they have justly paid attention to this form of music (provided it is suitably presented), "in which we must not seek the sparkling effects of modern art, but which, like hand-drawing in simple tints, has its whole charm in its extreme simplicity."<sup>1</sup> They think that the influence of those primitive types of music may possibly sway the art of to-morrow. And indeed, these oriental documents are not a collection of death relics, but retain a principle of life and inspiration.

Besides this general interest, the songs of the oriental synagogues present a particular attraction to the lovers of antiquity.

In fact, questions relating to ancient Asiatic music have seemed, from the eighteenth century until to-day, most interesting, in spite of our imperfect knowledge and the want of any direct information; for the Asiatic civilisations did not bequeath to us, as did Greek antiquity, either authentic documents or musical fragments, or any theoretical treatises, from which we could know the principles of their art. The best inductions only rest upon the hypotheses of the writers, and we seek in vain to determine the character of the ancient music of the Hebrews, and to know what were those "regular and harmoniously cadenced songs," those "simple and grave melodies," which, as Clement says, the old psalmists applied to their verses.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, considering how lively are the traditions amongst the oriental nations, we are led to think that the Jewish, Syrian or Chaldean music of to-day offers perhaps the only field in which such research could be successfully made.

---

<sup>1</sup> "C'est un dessin au trait, rehaussé de teintes plates, et dont l'extrême simplicité fait tout le charme." C. Saint-Saëns, Preface of *Antigone*. Paris, Durand & Co., 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ γὰρ ἁρμονίας παραδεκτέον τὰς σώφρονας . . . τὰ αὐστηρὰ καὶ σωφρόνικα μέλη. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, ii. 4; Venice, t. I., p. 195. See p. 194, and *Stromata*, vi. Ibid., t. I., 784.—ψδῶν τε καὶ ἐψδῶν ἐμμέτρους συνθέσεις. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, xi. 5.—ἐκζητοῦντες μέλη μουσικῶν. *Ecclus.*, xliv. 5.

It is well known that the oriental songs are transmitted in only one way, viz. by oral tradition, so that the modern singers will bequeath to their pupils and followers the musical patrimony that they themselves received from their predecessors and now zealously hand on.

In the religious meetings, the portions sung have a prominent place, which custom has fixed, and, so to speak, consecrated. The same pieces are repeated, and even the whole assembly may take part in them. Moreover, the songs are executed without any instrumental accompaniment. These conditions are undoubtedly those most favorable for preserving the songs by rote.<sup>1</sup>

This fact may be used, it is true, as a counter argument. Routine is a bad preserver of works of art, even though it professes to respect and defend the treasures intrusted to its care.

Certain facts need especially to be taken into account. In the first place, although the songs actually used could not reproduce unaltered the features and the character of the primitive source, it is sure that they proceed from a strong tradition. No people, of whatever race, will forsake its whole tradition so long as it has nothing else to substitute for it.

Moreover, some of these songs may be found, substantially the same, in various regions between Syria and Chaldea.

At all events,—and this is my principal argument,—these melodies are as pure and expressive as the best formulas of the ancient Greek and Gregorian church music; and, at the same time, are so far removed from the Arabic music,—which spread over the whole Orient at the time of the invasion of the Islamic civilisation,—that they (as well a part of the Syrian and Chaldean songs) must be considered as quite independent of it, and consequently as proceeding from an earlier source.

Again, their structure and tonality give confirmation to the statement of the theoreticians, according to whom the diatonic

---

<sup>1</sup> In other parts of the "civilized" world, even with the help of printed books, teaching, and the organ, reforms in the matter of familiar songs meet an insurmountable obstacle in the old popular custom. I refer to the conditions of ecclesiastical music in the most of the churches of Europe.

system reigned before the development in Asia of the chromatic and enharmonic ones.<sup>1</sup>

With respect to this observation, I must give here a short explanation of the tonical and rhythmical structure of the Damascus chants.

**Tonality.** While our musical system has only two modes, major and minor, antiquity knew many others, based upon every note in the scale suitable to serve as final. This modal wealth, partly preserved in the mediæval Latin system, cannot be found to-day except in a few popular songs. But it is just to say that our modern art replaced it by the development of vocal and instrumental polyphony.

Aside from its modal variety, oriental music differs from ours in some essential points.

1. The third, E, is sensibly lower, and this occurs in all the systems used amongst the orientals, being a characteristic of their scale, and giving their melody its remarkable sweetness.<sup>2</sup>

2. The oriental system, based originally upon the tetrachord, considers as essentially fixed only the extreme notes; the others being subject to alterations, the principle of which is the attraction of the accessory notes by the essential ones. For instance, in the group G A *B* A G *F* G, the underlined degrees, expressed in plain song with their natural sound but in our modern practice with B-flat and F-sharp, are often in some oriental modes merely diminished by one quarter of a tone.<sup>3</sup>

We have another example of this proceeding in the so-called "Turkish scale":

A ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) G-sharp ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) F-natural ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) E,  
which really belongs to every oriental people, while our music knows only the formulas .

A ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) G-sharp (1) F-sharp (1) E (major mode),  
and A (1) G-natural ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) F-sharp (1) E (minor mode).

<sup>1</sup> Aristoxenus, *Harmonic Element*, l. I. Plutarch, *Musie*, 1134. See F. A. Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique dans l'antiquité*. Gand, 1875-1881, t. I., p. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> The fact may be easily verified by examining the tablature of modern oriental instruments, such as the Arabic "*kanoon*" or the Turkish "*tamboorah*."

<sup>3</sup> See Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque*, Paris, 1877.

The mediæval music kept up this cadence:

A (1) G-natural (1) F-natural ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) E (inverted minor), in the old modes of E and B.

The same principle explains to us the "transposition," consisting in changing the tune of the intermediary notes, as above, which is applied in the Syrian and Greek church music, as it was in our mediæval repertory, so that many melodies might be sung indifferently in one scale or another.

These differences being pointed out, the Damascus chants may be classified, in regard to their tonality, as follows:

*Mode of D* (the Phrygian of the Greek system) *or A* (Hypodorian).

The hymn יִגְדֵּל (1), the range of which, like in many mediæval anthems and popular songs, is limited to the quart (A-E).

The song בְּקוֹל שׁוֹפָר (2), a rich solo melody, confined to the same interval.

The hymns אֶרֶן עוֹלָם (3) and עַת שִׁעְרֵי רָצוֹן (4), extending to the sixth (G-A-E).

I may say that the mode of A has a like preponderance in the earlier parts of the Gregorian anthems.

The melody שְׁמַע קוֹלִי (5), and the recitative of the Song of Solomon, are two samples of the true Phrygian mode, viz.: the scale of D with B-natural.

The hymn לְכָה דוֹרִי (6) follows the same mode, but uses the B natural below the final, like a very few pieces belonging to the first plagal Gregorian.

אִם אִם (7) is a more developed melody in the same mode of D, but adorned with melodical modulations, of which the Syrian and Chaldean repertory gives us beautiful examples.<sup>1</sup>

שׁוֹאֵף (8) follows the above mentioned "Turkish" scale.

*Mode of C and F.*

The recitative of אֵיכָה, which the Damascene singers told me was peculiar to their repertory, belongs to this mode. It is interesting to observe that, while the minor modes predominate

<sup>1</sup> See the *Collection de chants orientaux* mentioned above, Nos. 297, 301, 341.

in the oriental, Greek and mediæval music, the major tonality seems to be reserved to express the sentiment of mourning. Our use of the two modes is just the reverse.

The melody of this Lamentation suggests a still more interesting remark. If we compare the oriental modulation with the very peculiar one applied in the Latin church to the same Book during Holy Week, we shall hardly be able to avoid the conclusion that the two are of identical origin. It would be difficult to find more convincing proof of a thesis hitherto undemonstrated: that the primary source of the early Christian songs was the repertory of the synagogues.<sup>1</sup>

The solo air of אֲחִילָה (9), and the following number יִרְרֵךְ (10), are two very rich melodies of the same mode, with a melodic modulation to the quart and some chromatic alterations.

The beautiful responsive anthem אֲדִיר וְנָהוֹר (11), a simple but noble melody, corresponds, like some mediæval songs, to the modes of C and A together, while the Recitative of "Pirke Aboth" combines the formulas of the modes of E and A, in the same way as the corresponding Latin songs.

The Recitative of Job, limited to the quint above the major final, belongs really to the mode of G, as appears from a comparison of the most ancient Graeco-Latin recitatives.

There remains the hymn יְיָ רַשִׁים (12) and the Recitative of the Proverbs, with the final B (or E). They are not true samples of those modes, but seem to belong to the major mode, the final being the tierce of the tonic.<sup>2</sup>

As to the melodic form, we may observe that the short hymns, intended to be sung by the people, are, like the oldest Ambrosian hymns, very simple and brief, while the solo songs are adorned with more notes and modulations.

Under such conditions of tonality, it is plain that these songs, which are executed in their native country without any vocal

<sup>1</sup> I subjoin, below, the constitutive phrases of the Hebrew song and of the old Latin melody. The comparison of these formulas affords an interesting proof of the strength of both oriental and occidental traditions.

<sup>2</sup> See F. A. Gevaërt, *La mélodie antique dans le chant de l'église latine*, Gand, 1895.

polyphony or musical accompaniment, could not be fitted with a harmonisation which should not entirely accord with the scale of the melody. For instance, the introduction of the leading tone in the minor modes, or the use of certain cadences peculiar to our art, would alter the modes and destroy the tonal feeling. Lemmens and Gevaert have opened the way, and shown, in their accompaniments of mediæval melodies, that in music as well as in painting, no antique representation can be dressed in a modern garment.

- **Rhythm.** It is unnecessary to explain that the measure, a secondary element in music, has no preponderance in the constitution of these songs. The recitatives and most of the vocal strains are not measured. As to the verses, they are generally regularly scanned, so as to produce the two-step time, which is the rhythm in its most simple form, such as is produced by the regular succession of steps in walking or in the religious dance:

2 ♪♪♪♪|| and ♪♪|♪♪|| or ~ ♪♪♪♪|~| The most of the oriental hymns follow these schemes. The lengthening of one of the two notes produces the three-beat time:

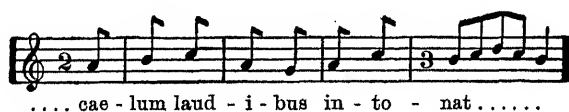
3 ♪♪♪♪|| and ♪♪♪♪|| or ♪♪♪♪~||

But in some cases it happens that, instead of this regular time, the last foot of the line or hemistich is lengthened in the recitation and adorned in the melody itself with additional notes, which constitute a kind of *pneuma*,<sup>1</sup> and therefore the measure is accidentally prolonged. This ancient proceeding, in which we touch, so to speak, with the finger, the formation of the ternary rhythm, can be observed in the Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 8, and in the whole melody No. 2, where the accentuation lengthens the important syllables and continually modifies the pace of the rhythm.

I must add, in order to explain the apparent irregularities in the wording, and in the disposition of accented or unaccented

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare the old Ambrosian Hymn :





syllables, that I reproduce the words and songs exactly in their original form, without taking it upon myself to make any alteration whatever.

The above remarks will suffice to show that the Damascus chants, although they seem somewhat opposed to our musical habit, are possessed of both historical interest and artistic merit. In my own opinion, it is something more than a mere musical curiosity that I present here, well pleased that these melodies return to those to whom they properly belong.

Mode of A  
(transposed). *Gow.*  $\text{♩} = 80$  Hymn of the Daily service.

577

Choir

*mp*

1. *yig-dal e-lō- him hay we-yi'- tab — bak nim-*  
*Ex-tolled be the God of the ra-el, our Lord, blest*

Organ or piano

*mp*

*-dā, we-ên 'et 'el ma-si-ū — tō.*  
*His Ma-jes-ty, be His name ad-ored.*

Choir

*mp*

2. *Ē-had we-ên yā- hūd. kē-i. hū- tō na-*  
*Earth and heaven pro-claim that our li-ving God is One; His*

*lām wē-gam 'en 'et la- hē- 'en — tō.*  
*great power made all crea- ted things;*

2.

Mode of A  
(trumpet).

Exposition. 1. 96.

: קִּיּוֹל שׁוֹפָר :  
Service of Rosh hashana.sung by  
Salvick Sasson.

*Solo*

*mf.* a - dō - nay be. qō - lē sō - far:  
The Lord is gone up with the wind of the trumpet.

*Organ on piano.*

*mf.* a - dō - nay be. qō - lē sō - far:  
The Lord is gone up with the wind of the trumpet.

yaś - mi - a' ye - šu - 'a  
O sing praises un - to our God.

yaś - mi - a' ye - šu - 'a  
O sing praises un - to our God.

*arr.*  
le - qā. Beq se. pe. qū - rā; be.  
O sing praises un - to our King for

le - qā. Beq se. pe. qū - rā; be.  
O sing praises un - to our King for

66 hez-y. on te-tū-ā: ā-lā e-lō-  
 God is the King of all the earth. God is gone up

him be-tū-ā. a-ḏō. may be-ḡō.  
 with a merry noise. She Lord is gone up with the

*Dim a rallent.*  
 -lī ḏō. fār: a-ḏō. may be-ḡō. lī ḏō- fār:  
 sound of the trumpet. all him that rideth upon the heavens.

*a tempo*

gō- lī mis- sā- mā. im 'al 'har hag.  
The Lord is high to be feared: re- member all his mar-

gō- dōt, we- 'al- ē ye- rō- sā- la- im: we-  
vellous works, for his temple's sake at Je-ru-sa-lem, O

āg han. nōt ye- mi- na- pē te- hi ke- mē-:  
God, won-derful art thou in thy ho-ly place: Thou dwellest in the

āb ne- tū- 'ā. 'ā- lā e- lō him bi- trā-  
heaven ov-er all. God is gone up with a merry

Handwritten musical score for the first system. The vocal line is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "a. 25- nay be. 95. li 55-". Below the vocal line, the piano accompaniment is written on two staves. The lyrics "raise. His war-ship and strength are in the" are written below the piano part.

Handwritten musical score for the second system. The vocal line is in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "far: a- 25- nay be. 95. li 55. far". Above the vocal line, the tempo marking "Fin. 2. coll." is written. Below the vocal line, the piano accompaniment is written on two staves. The lyrics "clouds the sound is gone up with the sound of the trumpet" are written below the piano part.

Mode of A  
(Transposed).

No. 100.

: יוֹלֵךְ

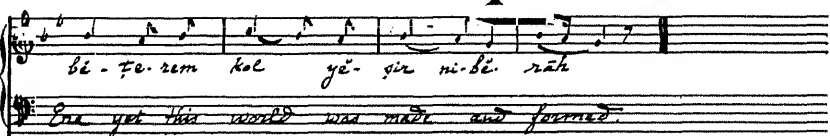
Hymn of the Morning Service.

as 11812. (5).

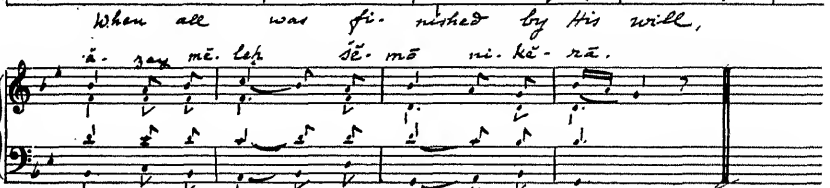
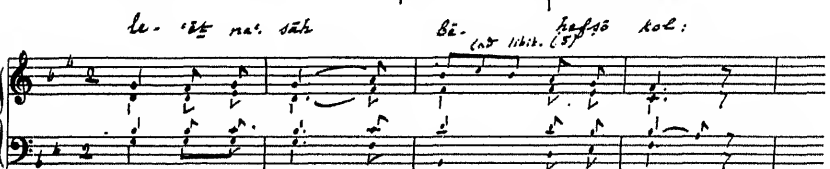
Choir  
1.



Organ  
or  
Piano



Choir  
2.



Mode of A.  
(transposed).  
No. 1, 24.

עֵת שְׁעָרֵי צִיּוֹן:  
Hymn. Service of Rock-hammer.

Choir

He. ————— da. ō. re. re. ————— son ————— li-  
O that the Lord's sub. va. ————— tion ————— were  
a. Go heal his an. cient na. ————— tion: Go

Organ  
Piano

mf.

hi. fa. re. ————— a. ————— f. .... o. ————— ge-2 we. fan-  
out of E. on come —————  
lead his out. cast home. O Lord re-turn

ni. 'e. gad, we. kamai-z be- ————— a ————— f  
in piety Re-build her walls a-gain.



5

Mode of D  
(Trumpet)

: שְׁמַע קוֹלִי

Invocation for the eve of Rosh hashana.

Sung by  
Bausfik Sassone

Choir *Andante. 1:30*

Se-ma' qo-li a-ier  
O hear my voice, O Lord, In whom

*dim.*

i-se-ma' be-qo lo'  
heaven and earth due praise af-fore

*dim.*

we-ha-el ha-ma-ga-bel he-  
O God, whom power all the angels fear

te-fil. lō

o. bay, ad. ore. wē. wē. thy she

hē. bē. bē. li hē. ger gē.

hē. bē. bē. li hē. ger gē.

work are known and Thy glo.ri.ous king-dom in its world proclaim Thy e. ter. nal glo-ry and con.

lō. lō. lō.

lō. lō. lō.

ap-pear. Don show. less Thy name.

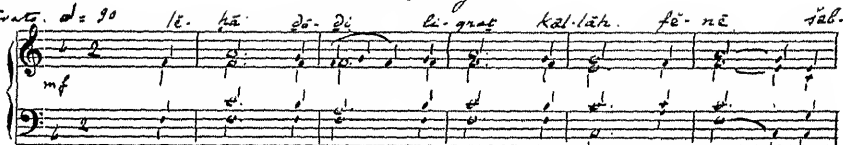
6

Mode of D  
(Mansouri)

שבת יידישית

Sabbath Hymn

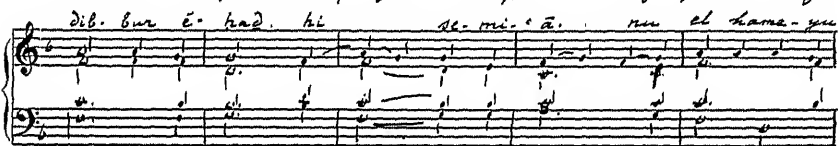
Moderato. ♩ = 90



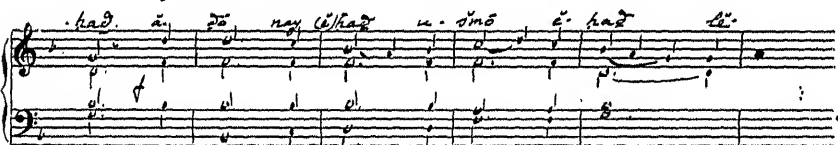
Wel. come art thou, Dear Sab-bath Day. Once more we



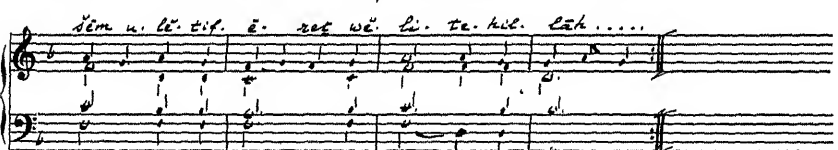
meet to praise and pray. Bring us thy peace, thy



ho. ly rest: speak us of the di-vine be-



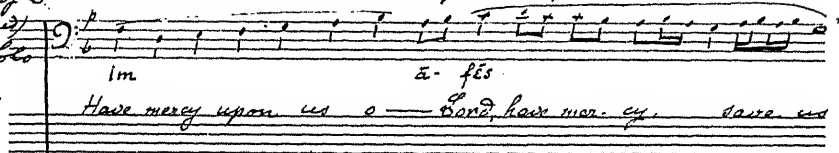
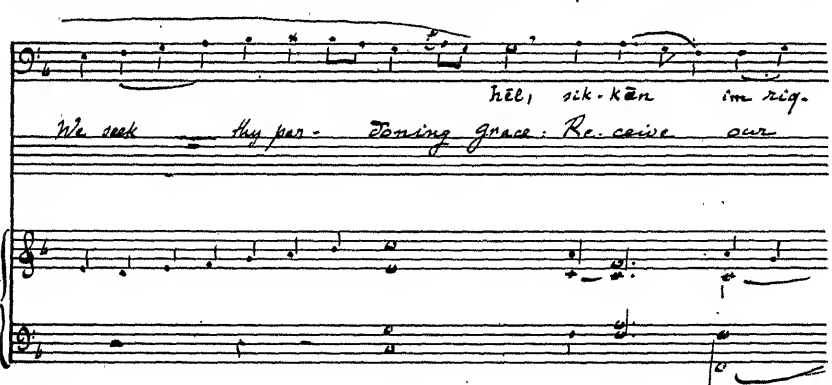
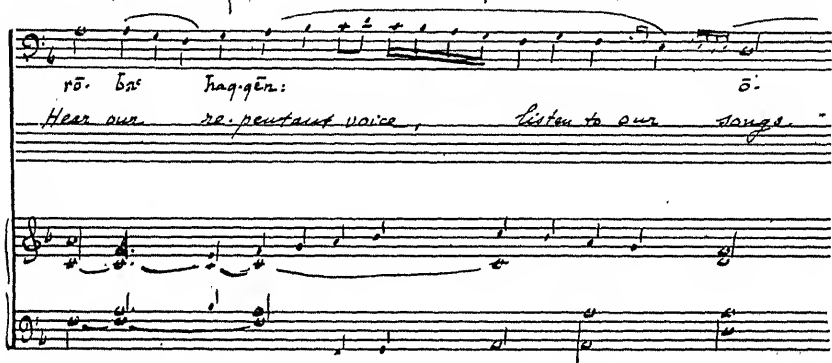
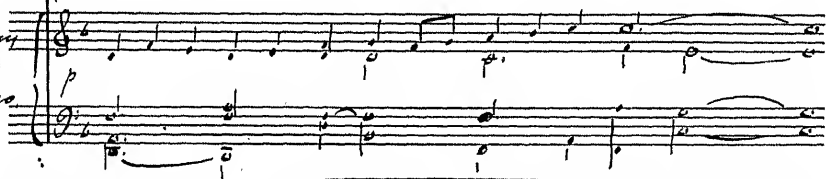
hest the Lord is One, his Name is One:



He is the one true God alone.

: ספס ספס

Invocation sung before the Morning Service of Rosh hashana

Voice of D.  
(alters)Organ  
on  
piano

*piu f.*

qēn: 2l nā [nō- Be- 2ā] [kī

prayer O thou to whom all grace belongs we call

al kēn]

with all our hearts, we call

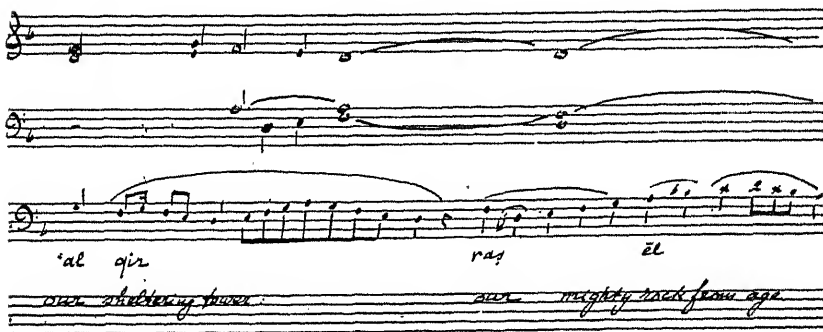
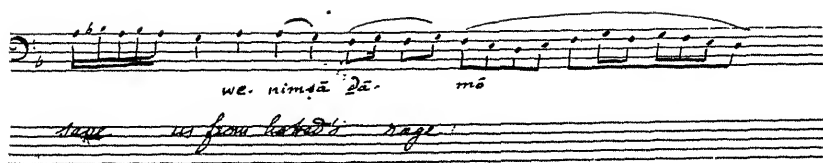
yēs la. nū ab. zaq: qēn

to thee O Lord save our souls:

fa-nim: lo tak-kin  
for thy mer- ciful sake; we wait pa-tiently

wid- qō le-fā-nē  
for there a God has drawn thine ear to us: be propi-tious

hē nāy kīr: qāh-nā sin-yokkin  
as we call: O Lord of eter-nal life, grant us thy truth to make us free. Redeem us,



## שִׁוּחַ קֶמֶל עֶבֶד :

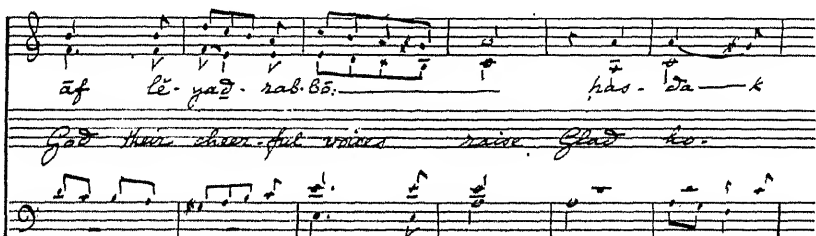
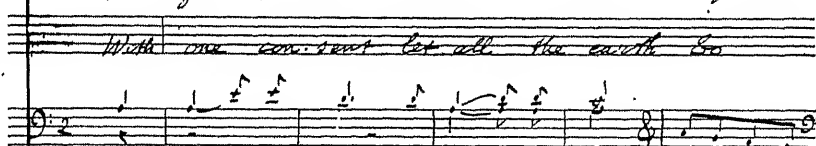
from the seder of Roth Hashana.

Minor mode

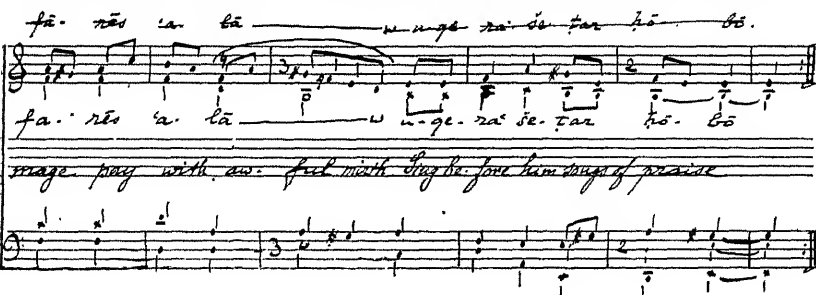
(E, altered)

Turkish scale

Mistress. 3/4

Choir  
and  
organ.

God their cheerful voices raise. Glad be.



maye pay with an. feed with they be for him songs of praise



Mode of C

: הַלֵּל

Introduction to the *Almeida* in the festival.

Hakam Judin Shatta.

*Solo* *large*  $\text{♩} = 92$

*p.* *o-*

*I call with my whole heart: hear me, O Lord*

*Organ on piano*

*p*

*hi-la* *el, a-ha-*

*help me and I shall keep thy Law. Early in the morning*

*Hel fa-* *na-*

*I cry un-to Thee let my prayer come be-fore Thee, o*

w ē se. 'ā - lā me-me.  
 Lord my lips shall speak of thy praise. Yea, my

-mē -nuū mā.  
 tongue shall sing of thy word. Early in the morning

'a-nah lā. (ā) so—  
 I cry un. to Thee: For in thy word is my

24533

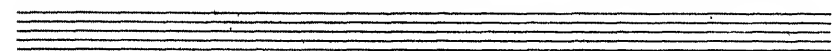
*trist.* *f.* *a.* *ser bi. ge. ha* *l'ân*  
*Hear my voice Lord. Avenge thou my cause and mine fear*

*a.* *ser. 'm.* *35*  
*O let my soul, a let my soul live and I shall praise*

*dim.* *(s.)* *ab.* *bi.* *a. re.*  
*hee. Let thine hand help me. all my*

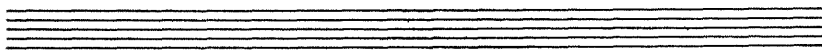
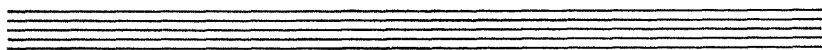
-nā-                      not: be.

ways we before thee. O Lord, let my



āḡ      mīp. pe-ā-      lā      w.

we come before thee. my lips shall speak of thy praise.



Mode of C  
(altered)

הַקָּדוֹשׁ יְיָ יֵשׁׁוּעַ  
from the Seder of Shabuot.

Hakam Jude Shatta

Solo

[yōrāḏ]

$\text{♩} = 126$   
ḏā-ḏi lē-gan-nō la-ā. rū-

cresc.  
ga — lē- sâ - mō:

ritard.  
l-hit- 'al. lām 'im bat na-ḏib.

<sup>1</sup> Song of Solomon, vi, 1; iii, 9.

Wē-li-frā'a-lē-āh, duk-ka — s-lō-

mōh *ritard* *accel*  
ap-pia-

yōn 'ā-ā lō hammē- *ritard*

-lēh sē-lō-mōh;

*1. = 104*  
*piu f.* se-rā-fim

*1. = 126*  
 wē-ō-fā-nim: nā-tā ū-fā-rā-sā

*rall.*  
 w wri-hē-bō

*a tempo*

when se-de ayge. let ahabim sim ne-ti-

-bo. be-yöm hatun-

-na-to u. byöm sim. ha-t lib-

-bo.



*Messa f*  
(trumpets)

אָדיר וְנָהוֹר

Solo and Responsive Choir for the Service of Kippur.

*Solo*

*I.* אָדיר וְנָהוֹר בּוֹ-נֶה יוֹגֵד וָאֵלֶּיךָ לֵבִי.  
Who is like Thee, O-mighty God, Cre-a-tor of the world?

*Organ or piano*

*mf.*

*Choir and organ.*

*mf.* מִי עַל כָּא-מֹהֶם לֵבִי.  
Who's like Thee, O Lord?

*Solo*

גֹּדְלֵי אֲמוּנָה גֹּדְלֵי, בְּרִי-יְהוָה גֹּדְלֵי.  
Thy glory fills the worlds they all reflect Thy light.

*mf.*

*Solo*

*mf.* te-hör ē-nā- ē — m, yō. tēb sā-mā — im

*We all rejoice in thee, hear, O Lord our joyful voice*

*mf.*

*mi ēl kā. mō-hā*

*Who's like thee, O God*

*Choir*

12

מוֹדֵי כֶּסֶד (G)  
 Lamine of Rosh hashana. sung by  
Yairaf Yairaf.

yé. dé rā-sim ne-he-la-si-m me-has-  
 O make thy people strong and victo-rious, O Lord

-si-yé dé kō-fé-rām:.... la-ha-g-dī-t et ga-  
 wrong shall no longer prevail. But we praise thy name, O

dō-si ya-ā. gō-b wī-ēt e- lō-he v-ē-rā-ēl.  
 God of Ja-cob the holy one of Is-ra-ēl.

# Recitatives.

## I. Song of Solomon (Cont. I, 1-6).

Modes of  
D and C.

Rehe. 1. 126

1 šir haššir- ri m a. šir li-šlō-mōh.

2 yōš-šā. qē-ni minne-šū qō-š pi-hu: ki-tō-bim

do. re. hā miyyā-in. 3 le-rē-ah

šē-ma-nē-hā to-bim: šē-men tū-raḡ šē-mē-hā:

al kēn a-lā-mot a. he. bū-hā.

4. mōqē-ni a. hā. rē-hā nā-rū-šā he-bi-

ā-ni hamwē-leh hā. dā. rā u. b. na-gē-lā

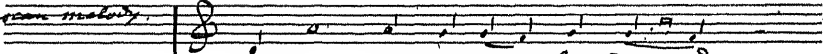
we-nis-mē-hā lā h... b. šā. mū-ni nō.

tē-rā et hakke-rā-mi-m: kar mi šel.

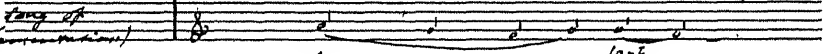
li lō nā-tar-ti.

Mode of F(C)      2 Lamentations. (I, 1-3).

*Demarcation melody.*

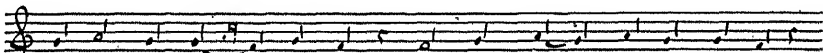


*(Keter, long of the Lamentations)*

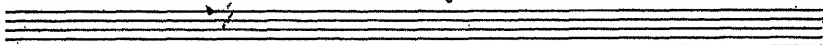
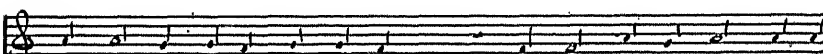


ē- k̄ā yā-šē- bā ba- dā- d̄

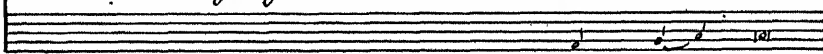
A. . . . . leph.



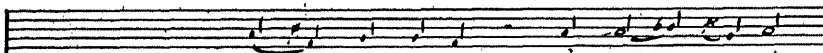
kā-ēr rabbā- tī 'ām: ha-yr- t̄ā: ke-al-mā-nā

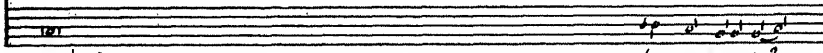
rabbā: t̄ī: bay- gō- Em . . . . . En lāh mena- hēm mikkol



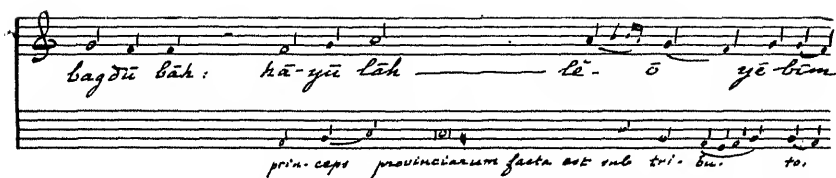
Quo. mo. do sedet



ō. ha. bē- āh: kōl rē- 'ē- āh

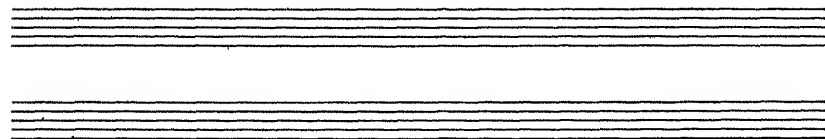
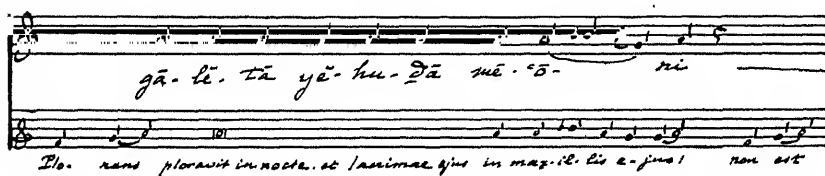


sola civitas . . . . . ple-na popu-lo? . . . .



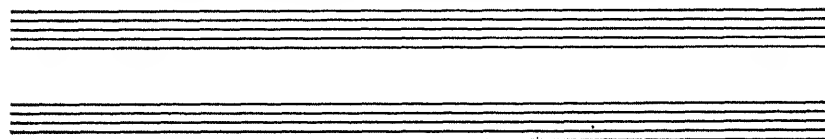
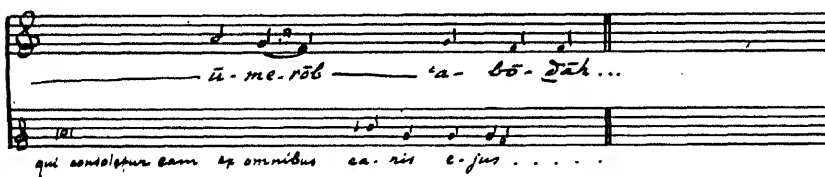
bagdū bāh: hā-yū lāh ——— lē- ō yē-bim

prin. cept provinciarum facta est sub tri-bu. to.

gā-lē. tā yē-hu-ḏā mē-ō- ri ———

Illo. temp. ploravit in nocte. et lacrimae ejus in max. i. e. lris e-fus! non est

ū-me-rōb ——— 'a- bō-ḏāh...

qui condeletur eam ex omnibus ea. ris e-fus . . . . .

Mode of B (E) 3. Proverbs (xxxv, 10).

1. Damascene melody

Ē-seṭ ha-il mi-yimsā: we-rā-hō—q mippe.

2. Old Latin respiration

Ky. ri: e e e.

3. Old Greek Respiration

Kū-pi: ē. lē-η. sov.

1

ni-nim miḥ-rāh. bā-tah bāh lēb ha-tāh: wē-sā-lal lō

2

le-i. son.

1

ye-hē. sar... wātittōn tē-ref lē-bey-tāh. wāhō-q tē-na'a rō-tē-ah...

2

Chor. re e. e. e. i. son.

Ky. ri: e (etc.)

3

Kū-pi: ē. lē-η. sov.

*Evidence for an Advance on Egypt by Sennacherib in the Campaign of 701-700 B. C.*—By STEPHEN LANGDON, M.A., Fellow in Columbia University, New York.

IN 701 B. C. Sennacherib was called to the West by a serious revolution which had broken out there. A coalition had been formed of all the important cities and states of Western Asia instigated by Shabitoku, second king of the Ethiopian dynasty which was rapidly raising Egypt to a first class power. Shabitoku reigned 703-693 B. C. Within two years after his accession to the throne he had succeeded in forming a coalition against Sennacherib. There were three centers of the coalition, viz., Tyre and Sidon in the north; Jerusalem in the center, and Askalon in the south. The immediate cause of the outbreak was an insurrection of the people in Ekron, a city in the northern part of Philistia. Padi, the faithful vassal of Assyria, was thrown into chains by the rebels and sent to Hezekiah for safe keeping. Sennacherib immediately advanced westward and attacked the cities of the coalition from the north, beginning at Sidon.

The sources for this campaign are:—1. II Ki. xviii, 13. 17-19, 37; and xviii, 14-16. 2. II Ch. xxxii, 1-21. 3. Taylor, *Inscription of the Annals of Sennacherib*, Col. II, 34-III, 41. 4. Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 1-23. 5. Herodotus ii, 141. 6. Isaiah xxii, 1-14, and other prophecies, for which see the discussion. 7. Inscription from Nabi Yunus, 13-15.

It is not the purpose of this paper to criticize the extensive literature of these sources. The object is to test the value of each of the sources, and in the light of other information to find out what reconstruction of the history we are warranted in making. The discussion has value chiefly because it throws light upon the work of Isaiah and consequently upon his theology.

According to Sennacherib's inscription the facts are as follows:—In 701 he advanced from the north along the coast and captured all the cities of the coalition, from Sidon to Askalon. He then turned inland and advanced on Ekron. Before he could besiege the city he was compelled to meet the Egyptian army sent by the "kings" of Egypt (so the inscr.), with aid from Ethiopia



(Miluchchi in the inscr.; which Delattre, Tiele and Winckler locate as a small country near Mt. Sinai). The battle took place at Atalku southeast of Ekron in the Wady Sarar near Timnath. The Ethiopians were defeated, after which Sennacherib captured Atalku and Timnath. He then returned to Ekron. After capturing the city and punishing the rebels, he caused Padi to be brought from Jerusalem and to be restored to his throne in Ekron. But Hezekiah still held out. Sennacherib thereupon took forty-six of his cities and confined Hezekiah in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." Winckler has called attention to the fact that the verb used here is *esēru* "to confine" and not *laml* "to besiege." The word is used, however, for shutting up and besieging (V 2, 26; 3, 131, and often). Moreover the inscription goes on to say that Sennacherib put bulwarks around the city. Hezekiah was compelled to give 30 talents of gold and 800 of silver, with much other treasure. He also sent tribute to Sennacherib at Nineveh.

The account in II Kings xviii, 13-xix, 37 has been divided by critics since Wellhausen into three sources:—1. xviii, 14-16. 2. xviii, 13. 17-xix, 8. 3. xix, 10-37. xix, 9 is much disputed and is variously treated; see the discussion following. According to xviii, 14-16, Hezekiah sent 30 talents of gold and 300 of silver to Sennacherib at Lakish, a town in the Shaphela south-east of Askalon. He also sent treasures from the temple and palace. This agrees with Sennacherib's inscription, besides giving the information that Sennacherib was besieging Lakish, a town not mentioned by Sennacherib but included in the forty-six towns which he captured. It is not likely that Lakish was besieged, or that Hezekiah sent tribute and spoil before the Egyptian battle at Atalku, or that Padi was given up before the Egyptian army was defeated. It is agreed by all critics that this source is older and more reliable than either of the other two in Kings, mentioned above. It agrees with Sennacherib's account, but was omitted by the compiler of the works of Isaiah, who was careful to omit everything that conflicted with his version of the part which Isaiah played at the time of the invasion of Sennacherib.

II Kings xviii, 13. 17-xix, 8 gives the following account:—Sennacherib sent his Rabshakeh to Jerusalem from Lakish. The king's counsellors came out to meet him by the wall near the

Upper Pool. The Rabshakeh addressed them in a speech ridiculing their dependence on Egypt and their hope that Yahweh would deliver them. For, said he, Hezekiah had offended Yahweh by destroying all the places of worship outside the city and had set up a sanctuary in Jerusalem which was to be the only place of worship. Hezekiah's forces are too weak to resist the great king, besides which Yahweh himself had sent the Assyrian to destroy Judah. Hezekiah's embassy asked the Rabshakeh to speak in Aramaic, so that the men on the wall might not understand. But he replied by speaking so that all could hear him, threatening them with hunger and famine. He added that they must not trust in Hezekiah, for he is powerless to deliver, nor is Yahweh able to deliver. But the men on the wall and the embassy did not answer, since Hezekiah had forbidden them to do so. The embassy returned to Hezekiah in distress. The king and his whole court put on mourning and sent for Isaiah the prophet, to ask him to intercede for the city with Yahweh. Isaiah sent the answer to the king that Sennacherib should be attacked by a great storm and should hear a great noise and go back to his land to die by the sword. Sennacherib's officer returned to the king and found him besieging Libnah, a town near Lakish. This takes us to chapter xix, 8. Chapter xix, 9a is the verse which has caused most of the discussion among critics, and has led Winckler and Holtzmann to seek for a much later invasion of Sennacherib in order to fit the next account in xix, 9b-37. The verse reads: "And he (Sennacherib) heard of Tarku king of Ethiopia by one who said, 'Lo, he has come up to fight with thee.'"

Chapter xix, 9b-37 gives the following account:—Then he (Sennacherib) sent his officers again to Jerusalem with a letter (read in 9b וַיִּשְׁבּ and not וַיִּשְׁמַע, following the text of Kings and not of Isaiah, against most of the critics. The text of Kings is the original, and on the whole better than that of Isaiah. The discussion will defend this reading against the views of those who hold that xix, 9b-37 is an account parallel to xviii, 13. 17-xix, 8, or that it refers to a later invasion of Sennacherib into Arabia in 690 B. C.). In this letter he urged the people not to trust to Hezekiah, who in fact tells them that the city will not be taken; that no city has been protected by its gods against the Assyrians. When Hezekiah read the letter

he went up to the temple to pray. Isaiah sent him a prophecy (xix, 21-28, written in pentameter) saying that Jerusalem scoffs at Sennacherib for his impudence in boasting that he will destroy Egypt and Judah. Yahweh, however, is the one who wrought all this ruin by the hand of the Assyrian. But now Yahweh will put a hook in his nose and lead him back by the way he came. It should be noted in this prophecy—which, of course, can not be from Isaiah (for, as will appear later, Isaiah never prophesied that the city would not be taken, or that Egypt would not be punished,)—that Sennacherib had threatened to invade Egypt. Isaiah goes on to say that the sign that this would come true is that this year they shall eat סִפִּיחַ 'the second growth of the grain;' next year the שִׁשִּׁי 'the shoots from the roots of last year's stalks,' and the next year they shall plant and eat. This is readily understood to mean that Sennacherib came early in the spring of 701 and destroyed the crops. Therefore, in the year 701 they must live on the aftergrowth of the seeds which fall. He remained devastating the land during the winter and the following summer of 700, therefore they must live on the shoots of the stalks. But since he left before the spring of 699, they could proceed with the usual methods of farming. Judah shall yet have a glorious future. Sennacherib will not enter the city nor besiege it, but will return to Nineveh. On the night that Isaiah uttered this prophecy an angel of Yahweh went out and slew 185,000 Assyrians in the camp before the city. It is now generally held that these two last accounts, one of the sending of the Rabshakeh to Jerusalem, and the other of the letter to Hezekiah, are parallel accounts of the same event.

Chapter xix, 9a tells us that when the Rabshakeh returned to Sennacherib at Libnah, a report came from the south concerning an advance by Tarku of Egypt. But it is well established that Tarku did not become king until 692. How, then, says Winckler, could Sennacherib, besieging Libnah in 700, hear of an advance by Tarku, who did not become king until 692? Winckler, therefore, followed by Holtzmann in his Commentary on Kings, thinks that this account of Tarku and the sending of the letter must refer to some later advance of Sennacherib into this region after the accession of Tarku to the throne of Egypt. This he finds in a passage of the inscription of Esarhaddon which refers to an invasion of Arabia by his father Sennacherib in

which the latter took a town Adumu. (Esarhaddon Prism, II, 55.) This is all of the Esarhaddon account; but Winckler thinks, moreover, that for some reason Hezekiah rebelled at this time, for which cause Sennacherib sent him a letter from Arabia and Tarku advanced from Egypt. All this is purely arbitrary.

It is evident at a glance that these two accounts in Kings are written *post eventum* and that the object is to glorify Isaiah. The accounts are self-contradictory and present historical difficulties; for instance, the doing away with the high-places by Hezekiah and the centralization of worship by him in Jerusalem. The mention of Tarku as advancing from Egypt in 700 is not at all surprising in an account so evidently unreliable as II Kings xviii and xix. Winckler's hypothesis is therefore not only built upon an imaginary situation, but the obstacle which caused him to frame his hypothesis is also imaginary. The historical inaccuracies of the post-Exilic period are astounding, and need cause no one to resort to such an imaginary reconstruction of history as Winckler has given in his *Untersuchungen*, pages 26-49. The thesis which I mean to defend in this paper is the following:—Sennacherib, after defeating the Egyptian army at Atalku in 701, laid plans for the conquest of Judah. Hezekiah gave up Padi, who was restored to Ekron. Sennacherib, fearing a second attack from the south by Egypt, upon whom Hezekiah was still relying, sent his Rabshakeh to demand the surrender of Jerusalem and to devastate Judah, while he himself remained in the southern Shaphela to meet any attack from Egypt. Not receiving a favorable reply from Hezekiah, he sent a letter demanding the surrender of the city and the admission of Assyrian troops to the city. This was refused also, but Hezekiah sent heavy tribute to the king at Libnah or Lakish, while the Assyrian detachment under the Rabshakeh began to plunder the outlying districts and finally laid siege to Jerusalem. Suddenly an Egyptian army threatened in the south, and Sennacherib, leaving a detachment to tend to matters in Judah, hastened to the borders of Egypt and laid siege to Pelusium. Here he met with some disaster, and returned to Judah and thence to Nineveh, not stopping to finish the siege of Jerusalem.

We have already discussed two of our sources, viz. the Sennacherib inscription and II Kings; of these only II Kings xviii, 14-16 is absolutely reliable. Sennacherib omits all reference to

Lakish and any advance on Egypt. The inscription of Nabi Yunus confirms the account of Sennacherib's Annals. Our other sources in II Kings we find to be mostly imaginary representations based upon some fact. The facts which these sources seem to warrant us in deducing, are (a) the actual occurrence of the siege of Jerusalem and of Lakish; (b) an advance from the south under some Egyptian king or officer and the sending of an embassy and subsequently a letter from Sennacherib to Hezekiah. The story of the slaughter outside the city and of Isaiah's prophecy must be established by some reliable sources or reasonable circumstances if it is to be taken into account at all. II Chronicles confirms the account of the siege of Jerusalem and the siege of Lakish; it confirms also the embassy from Lakish to Jerusalem and the sending of the letters. The speech of the Rabshakeh in Chronicles is about the same as in Kings. The account of the part taken by Isaiah is short; it simply says that Isaiah and Hezekiah prayed. It confirms the account of the slaughter outside of the city. The genuine prophecies of Isaiah which were delivered during this last period of his life, i. e. during the invasion, are: xxii, 1-18; xxviii, 7-22; xxix, 1-14; xxix, 15-xxx, 1-17; xxxi, 1-3. Chapter xxii, 1-14 was delivered immediately after the army of Sennacherib raised the siege. Whether this was when Sennacherib left for his advance on Egypt, or when he finally returned to Assyria is uncertain, but the tone of the prophecy would lead one to infer that Isaiah expected a quick retribution on the city for its exultation at the temporary raising of the siege (cf. xxii, 14, "This iniquity shall not be covered by aught short of death"). A prose passage is inserted at xxii, 9b-11a which refers to preparations made to sustain a siege, and which is confirmed by II Chronicles. The poem also has frequent references to a siege just past, and mentions breaches in the walls. In view of all this evidence, it is difficult to understand how Winckler can deny the fact of a siege. Certainly Isaiah xxii, 1-14 is first class evidence, backed up by II Chronicles, which on a point like this has certainly some historical value.

In none of the Isaiah sources of this period is there any trace whatsoever of Isaiah's prophecy that the city would not be taken. In Isaiah xxviii, 15 the people are represented as saying: "As to the despoiling scourge, lo it will pass over, it will not come to

pass;" thus referring to the hope that the people still had of help from Egypt. Isaiah replies to this in the following words, xxii, 18 ff.: "As to the despoiling scourge, it will pass over, and ye shall be a trodden thing unto it. As oft as it shall pass over you it shall seize you." In xxix, 6 he adds: "Then it shall fall out suddenly and in a twinkling, thou shalt be visited by Yahweh Sabaoth, with quaking and shaking, and a great uproar, storm and whirlwind, and a flame of consuming fire." He calls Egypt, "Rahab-they are, a sit-still," xxx, 7. But there are no sayings of hope. On the contrary, he says that Egypt, their ally, will be broken, and that the scourge will pass over Judah. The scourge is Sennacherib. We must therefore dismiss all material in II Kings which tries to glorify Isaiah by reporting him to have made the glowing prophecies of the immunity of the city. II Chronicles is much more trustworthy at this point, as it at least does not contradict Isaiah himself. The tradition that Isaiah made such a prophecy arose after the city had escaped a final siege only by accident, since Sennacherib after his retreat from Pelusium had to hasten home owing to complications in Babylon. The idea of the sacred immunity of the city is seen in the line of Jeremiah which is probably a saying of the time handed down from the days when Jerusalem so fortunately escaped a catastrophe: *הַיֵּבֶל יְהוָה הַיֵּבֶל יְהוָה הַמָּה* "The temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh is this" (Jer. vii, 4).

Josephus differs somewhat from the other sources. He confirms the account of the embassy, but does not mention Lakish. Hezekiah, he says, sent heavy tribute on condition that Sennacherib would go home, but instead he went off warring against Egypt, leaving Rabshakeh to destroy Jerusalem. He then reports the speech made by the Rabshakeh in II Kings, ending with a prophecy by Isaiah which is the same as that reported in II Kings, xix, 6-8. Josephus adds nothing new thus far, except the fact that Sennacherib left a force to finish the campaign in Judah while he went off to Egypt. He omits the account of the return of the Rabshakeh to Lakish. He goes on to report the letter the same as in II Kings, but the letter expressly demands the surrender of the city. This is not according to II Kings. Isaiah is again brought into the account, but the long prophecy ascribed to him in Kings is omitted, and the symbolical descrip-

tion of the failing harvests is turned into a prophecy in which Hezekiah is urged to go about his affairs and let the people plant the fields. Josephus then records the siege of Pelusium by Sennacherib. While besieging the city he heard of the approach of Tarku (*Θαρσίκης*) and retreated in haste. He returned to Jerusalem and took charge of the army. Here the pest-god slew 185,000 men, after which disaster Sennacherib retreated into Assyria. Josephus follows II Kings, but seems to be using independent material not found in any of our other sources. The most important contribution which he makes is the evidence for the advance on Egypt. He also confirms the other evidence in making it clear that if Sennacherib made any advance on Egypt at all it was during the campaign of 701-700.

Herodotus says that Sethon (*Σεθών*), a priest king, was ruling Egypt when Sennacherib attacked Pelusium. This is at least some confirmation of Shabitoku, who must have been ruling in Egypt at this time. Herodotus also confirms the siege of Pelusium, and says that mice ruined the armour of the Assyrian army by night, which caused Sennacherib to abandon the siege and retreat. Herodotus states that in his day a statue of Sethon stood in the temple of Hephaestus holding a mouse in his hand and inscribed with this inscription: *ἐς ἐμέ τις ὀρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω*. Herodotus calls Sennacherib "the king of the Arabians and the Assyrians," which fact is adduced by Winckler as evidence for an Arabian campaign. Finally, we have to add the statement of Berossus, who says that Sennacherib ruled over Asia and Egypt.

All the evidence is now before us. The most trustworthy sources are the prophecies of Isaiah, the old annals used by the late historian of II Kings, and the inscription of Sennacherib. But back of the fanciful histories of Kings, Josephus and Herodotus there must be some facts. The siege of Lakish is confirmed by too much evidence to make it doubtful, and it is not the kind of history which would be fabricated. The fact that the Rabshakeh laid siege to Jerusalem is established by every good source. Only Josephus and Herodotus mention an Egyptian campaign; but the Lakish evidence, and the leaving of affairs to a subordinate when Sennacherib had nothing else to do, are remarkable, while the implication of the prophecy of Isaiah already noticed makes strong evidence for a campaign

against Egypt. What calamity overtook Sennacherib in the Egyptian campaign is unknown, but it is most certain that the story of the slaughter at Jerusalem is an identification of the misfortune in the south with a traditional account of a catastrophe near Jerusalem. Certainly Sennacherib met with no defeat to weaken his prestige in the West, for Hezekiah not only gave tribute, but sent signs of submission to Sennacherib after the latter had returned to Assyria. Moab and the states east of the Jordan also sent tribute, and the fact that the West gave no more trouble for a century is proof that any account of a fearful catastrophe is a fabrication.

Winckler's hypothesis, so cleverly worked out in his *Untersuchungen*, is improbable if only because based upon untrustworthy evidence in Kings, and is impossible for the reasons given here. Winckler knows of no Arabian expedition by Sennacherib except the accidental mention of the fact in the Annals of Esarhaddon, where it is said that Sennacherib captured Adumu, a city in Arabia. Now Udumu occurs in Ašurb. V 7, 109, where Edom (אֲדוֹם) is meant. It is probable that Udumu and Adumu are identical. In Sennacherib's fifth expedition (Prism, III, 66-IV, 19), which cannot have taken place later than 695, he made a long march over hills and through valleys and encamped at the foot of Mt. Nipur (unknown). After pursuing his foes through forests and narrow passes, he advanced on a town called Ukku, where he ended his campaign. A city on the Persian Gulf or the sea is mentioned by Ashurbanipal, V 9, 122. The city was terribly punished by Ashurbanipal, for it had been continually rebellious, and must have been a place of importance such as would fit the description of Ukku by Sennacherib. The two are probably identical. If, then, this fifth expedition be the Arabian campaign referred to by Esarhaddon, we are not left without an account of such a campaign in the Annals of Sennacherib himself. Indeed, the omission of an expedition of such importance would hardly be made in the Annals. The incident of Esarhaddon's Annals referred to by Winckler is then to be identified with the fifth expedition of Sennacherib. Inasmuch as this occurred before Tarku came to the throne of Egypt, this clue also falls to the ground. It is therefore certain that if we are to accept any account of an advance by Sennacherib on Egypt at all, it is the one mentioned




by Josephus and rendered very probable by circumstantial evidence from the best sources. The simplest explanation of the narrative of II Kings is that the biographer of Isaiah, writing so long after the time of the events, and influenced by the prominent place which Tarku must have held in the subsequent history of the times, carelessly used Tarku's name when the source or tradition which was at the writer's disposal gave no name at all.

*The Transliteration of Egyptian.*<sup>1</sup>—By JAMES TEACKLE  
DENNIS, Baltimore, Md.



THE transliteration of the ancient Egyptian texts has occupied the attention of Egyptologists for many years, but especially within the last decade. The first attempt to express the sounds of the old Egyptian language by means of well known symbols was made by Champollion in 1822, while studying the Rosetta stone, when he discovered the relationship between Coptic and ancient Egyptian. Early in the Christian era, the Copts discarded the complicated and clumsy demotic writing, and adopted the Greek alphabet for transcribing their language, incorporating six signs for Egyptian sounds that had no equivalent in Greek characters. Using the Greek alphabet therefore, as a basis, in 1822 Champollion formulated a list of 117 Egyptian signs, with what he supposed to be their Greek equivalents. In 1837, Lepsius pointed out numerous errors in this list, and endeavored to rearrange the Egyptian alphabet on the lines of the Coptic, but did not attempt to express the sounds by means of any European characters. By this time, also, many sounds had been proved to be syllabic which Champollion had considered merely variants of alphabetic characters; others were shown to be ideograms and determinatives, and not in any sense either alphabetic or syllabic. Champollion died in 1832, and three years later his *Grammaire Égyptienne* was published. His followers, welcoming the discovery of the relationship between Egyptian and Coptic, transcribed all their Egyptian texts into Coptic formulæ; and of this method of transliteration Chabas was the most ardent supporter, for he employed it until his death, in 1882. To satisfy those who disbelieved in the identity of the two languages, however, Chabas used a double system; transliterating into Coptic for the use of specialists, and into Roman type for the benefit of others. His Roman alphabet, however, differed greatly from that devised by Lepsius. His Coptic transliterations have always been considered excellent.





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



<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian type for this article was kindly furnished by Dr. Charles E. Moldenke, of Watchung, N. J.



The diversity of opinion as to the best method of reducing Egyptian characters to modern symbols, led ultimately to each Egyptologist employing a system of his own, nor did they always use their systems consistently; for example, Deveria used three different methods in three transliterations made respectively in 1857, 1858 and 1865, the last being the Turin Legal papyrus. Bunsen, in *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* (1848), reduced the Egyptian alphabet to 17 simple sounds, representing one of these by a Coptic and another by a Greek character. This table was adopted by Lepsius as the basis of his system, from which all later ones have been derived. The first great step towards uniformity of transliteration was taken in 1854, at a conference held in London, where Lepsius proposed a resolution that "a standard alphabet be adopted for the reduction into European characters of foreign graphic systems and unwritten languages;" but the conference adjourned without taking any action, chiefly because of the difficulty in accurately representing many Egyptian sounds by the use of any European alphabet. But the Berlin academy, in 1862, adopted the system proposed by Lepsins at the London conference,—a system which reduced the number of simple characters to 15; ultimately this number was increased to 28; and this latter list was formally adopted by the Second International Congress of Orientalists held in London, in 1874. All the symbols used by Lepsius in this transliteration are ordinary European letters, with the one exception of the Greek  $\chi$ . One objection offered to this system, however, is its free use of diacritical points, which suggest different sounds to different nationalities; and to obviate this difficulty, there is a tendency in some quarters to express such sounds as require the use of diacritical marks by combinations of letters. For example, the 22<sup>d</sup> letter of Erman's list, the serpent , is transliterated by him  $\dot{\text{d}}$ ; by Chabas it is represented by  $\text{t}'$ ; Bunsen gives  $\text{t}$ ; British Museum Catalogue  $\text{tch}$ ; Loret  $\text{dj}$ ; Petrie  $\text{z}$ ; while the Egyptian Exploration Society writes  $\dot{\text{d}}$  in Beni Hasan I and  $\text{z}$  in Beni Hasan II. Yet combinations such as the above do not meet the requirements of the case, for many letters are pronounced differently by different nations; e. g.,  $\text{w}$ ,  $\text{ch}$  and  $\text{th}$ , the sounds of which are quite different in English from those given them by the





















Germans. Even in English, c becomes k or s under different circumstances.





Maspero was the first Egyptologist now living to discard diacritical points, retaining distinguishing marks only for the eagle  and the arm —symbols of which we shall speak later.








Loret's *Manuel de la Langue Égyptienne* introduced several series of double letters—ou, kh, sh, etc. Petrie has followed closely in Loret's footsteps, and both insert an e where a vowel sound seems necessary, but is undetermined. Maspero adheres to the Coptic vocalization where it is known. Six signs are considered by all the above-named Egyptologists as vocalic—the eagle , reed leaf , arm , double reed leaf ,

double stroke , and little chicken . Lepsius found that where the first three of these signs occurred in Egyptian, the Coptic frequently showed an a; he therefore conjectured these to be three different signs for the first letter of European alphabets, and further stated that he believed the arm  to represent long ā, often passing to ō. But the Hebrew ע (ain) is often found corresponding in position to the sound symbolized by  in words borrowed by the Hebrews from the Egyptians, such as the word Pharaoh, Hebrew פרעה, in Egyptian



 where  is represented by ע. In 1892, two eminent German Egyptologists, Dr. Erman of Berlin, and Dr. Steindorff of Leipzig, first propounded the theory of a purely consonantal system for the written Egyptian language, as is the case with Hebrew and other Semitic tongues. The next year Dr. Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik* was published, and translated into English in 1894 by Dr. Breasted, of the University of Chicago. The alphabetic list of signs given in this grammar is nearly identical with that used by the Egyptian Exploration Society in Beni Hasan I; and to every sign a consonantal value is given, on the ground of correspondence in many ways between Egyptian and Semitic. The followers of this method have been termed the "Berlin school;" the chief difference between their transliterations and those of other "schools" is


in the substitution by the former of consonantal instead of vocalic characters for the six signs above referred to. By the Berlin school,  is identified with the Hebrew **ס**;  with **ש**;  with **י**; the reed leaf  is transliterated by Erman as **י**;  by the Hebrew **י**, while for the double stroke  he uses the symbol **י**. These last three may generally be transliterated by the English **y**. Just what difference existed between them is difficult to determine. Yet this method still requires some system of vocalization, and Prof. Spiegelberg of Strassburg, while fully indorsing the Berlin method, continues to use an interpolated **e** in transliterating texts. A most valuable contribution to this theory is the work of Dr. Sethe, of Göttingen, on *Das Ägyptische Verbum*,—a thoroughly exhaustive study which greatly strengthens the theory of a relationship between Egyptian and Semitic. Take, for example, the symbol of the chessboard,  phonetically **mn**. This sign becomes in Coptic **MOYN** (infinitive) and **MHN** (pseudo-part.), and is also used in **MINE** (infinitive) and **CMONT** (pseudo-part.); also in **ΔMOYN** (name of a God), and in many other words where the letters **m** and **n** occur, either in juxtaposition or separated by different vowels. Here both the sounds represented by this sign  are admittedly consonants, yet both the **m** and **n** are pronounced not only with preceding and following vowels, but also with intermediary vocalic sounds. In this latter case the vowel certainly is not written. That the symbols , , , and  are also consonantal signs can be shown with equal certainty. Take the word    ('ip), which in Coptic becomes **ωπ**, **οπ** and **ηπ**—all different vocalizations which could not have occurred had the first sign  been a pure vocalic **a**. Also we may cite the word    (**wu**) which becomes in Coptic **ΟΥΩΝ**, **ΟΥΟΝ** and **ΟΥΗΝ**; where the same vocalic changes occur, and where the first character  can only represent a **w**, written in Coptic **ΟΥ**. A further example is the occurrence of one or the other of these characters as


either occasional finals or medials in words which are frequently found with these signs omitted; for example, the name  (p3sr) which is sometimes written with the reed leaf added  (p3sr'i), where the use of  is not altogether clear. Both these forms occur in the Abbott papyrus, relating to tomb robberies, XXth dynasty. We are familiar with this in Arabic, as for example, nom. رجل, acc. رجلا, and in the 3d masc. plurals of perfects of verbs, whose final  is added without any vocalic value whatever, e. g. قتلوا.







Sethe remarks on this subject "These facts being established, a scientific transliteration of Egyptian writing must resemble that of the so-called 'Berlin school,' which transcribes only the sounds really written, i. e. the consonants." These views are endorsed by most of the modern school of Egyptologists. Dr. Breasted of Chicago objects to the old vocalic transliteration for , , , and , for several reasons—first, that it is a remarkable vowel system that furnishes three symbols for a and one for u, and no other vowels; secondly, all who know anything of Coptic know that the Copts possessed w and y, and unless two of these signs can represent these sounds, where in the older language are they found, and how were they written? Loan-words between Egyptian and Palestinian show that the former possessed **W** and **Y**; and what hieroglyphic characters could represent these two sounds except two of the above-named signs? Hieroglyphic  becomes Coptic **EIOY** (pronounced yot), which shows that  had the sound y,  represented t, and the o was unwritten. Among prominent supporters of this Berlin system we note Dr. Reisner of the University of California, Dr. Johnston of Johns Hopkins, Dr. Schmidt of Cornell, and others.



The opponents of this system, however, are men of note, chiefly of the older school, first of whom we may place the distinguished Geneva Egyptologist, Dr. Edouard Naville. While agreeing as to the necessity of some common pasigraphy, Dr. Naville adheres to the theory of at least a partial vocalic system of writing, represented by the four characters in dispute. He objects to a



vocalization based on Coptic, because, he says, "it is a foreign alphabet of a very different character." To this it may be answered, that when the Copts adopted the Greek alphabet, they added thereto signs for sounds in their language not represented by the Greek script; so that it ceased to be a "foreign alphabet," and became virtually Egyptian. He further claims that because the hieroglyphic word   (stp) became


in Coptic  $\omega\tau\pi$ , therefore the character  represented  $\omega$ .


Yet this same character  occurs twice in the proper name

      (Greek  $\text{'Απολλωνίδης}$ ) where in one case it would have to represent  $\alpha$  and in the other  $\omega$ .



Again, the Greek name  $\text{'Αριστοτέλης}$  appears in Ethiopic as "arestātālīs," the long ā being here used for both o and e. In Coptic,  $\text{ιω}$  is written for the hieroglyphic   (i') where

 would represent the same sound as  in the word cited

by Dr. Naville; and  (iw) becomes in Coptic  $\alpha\gamma\omega$ ,

where  seems to be given the value  $\omega$ ; therefore, according

to Dr. Naville's reasoning, we should have three symbols for  $\omega$ , one of which also may be used for  $\alpha$ ,—which is hardly credible.

It seems certain, therefore, that  and  are consonants,

akin to  $\text{ʔ}$  and  $\text{ʕ}$  respectively, the orthography remaining the same in all cases, and the different vowel sounds being left to the reader. The further contention, that in English one vowel does duty for several distinct sounds,—such as a in father, all, have, make—does not meet the case; for in these words there is a modification due to consonantal influence, while the vowel quantity remains; but in a language written without vowels, such as we believe to be the case with Egyptian, the vocalic changes count for nothing. In support of the old vocalic theory, we also find Dr. Leiblein of Christiania, Dr. Piehl of Upsala, and M. Virey; the last named, while admitting the probability of a relationship between Egyptian and Semitic, considers the former more nearly Indo-Germanic in type. He prefers the system of transliteration devised by Lepsius, yet

endorses the Coptic transliterations of Chabas for their many excellent qualities; Dr. Piehl, on the contrary, contends for the system of the late Le Page Renouf. M. Bénédict, of Paris, takes a neutral ground: he says, "The Egyptians had a language, the vocalic phenomena of which seem to me more marked than in true Semitic languages; and their writing offers doubt as to vocalization and embarrasses all effort made to determine it."

It is not likely that any text will ever be found with the vocalization clearly and indubitably indicated. Perhaps the determinative placed after most words was a sufficient indication of the vocalization to the eye, so that words spelled with the same letters were pronounced differently, according to the following determinative. The only means whereby we can gain any idea of the vocalization of Egyptian is through the medium of Coptic; and the deduction from a study of both Coptic and the older tongue is, that the latter employed a consonantal system of writing, pure and simple; and it seems rational to adopt the method of the Berlin school in our transliterations, as being the most accurate of the fourteen recognized methods; thus obtaining the most exact results possible in representing by European type the sounds of the written Egyptian. It will be time enough to modify or alter this view when it is proved a fallacy—but that time is not yet.

















*The God Ašur.*—By PROFESSOR MORRIS JASTROW, JR., the  
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I.

THERE are a number of problems connected with the form, character and etymology of the name of the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon that still await a satisfactory solution.<sup>1</sup>

At the outset of any investigation of the subject, it is necessary to bear in mind that the name Ašur is the designation in cuneiform literature for a country and a city as well as for a god, and since among the various forms in which each of the three appears there is substantial agreement,<sup>2</sup> no doubt is possible, apart from other evidence, that the name in all three cases is the same. As long ago as 1881, Friedrich Delitzsch<sup>3</sup> proposed that the name of the god was derived from that of the city and the country. This was opposed by Schrader,<sup>4</sup> who maintained the reverse; but it can now be shown, in the light of a complete examination of the material, that Delitzsch was right so far as the *oldest* designation of the god was concerned; whereas the specific designation *ašur* was first applied to the god, and from the god was extended to the city and country or district.

<sup>1</sup> For former discussions see especially, Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, pp. 74-76; Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Paradies*, pp. 252-254; Jensen, *Zeits. f. Assyr.*, I, pp. 1-7; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 124 seq.; *idem.*, *Gifford Lectures on the Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 366 seq.; Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 1, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the god, country and city appears either as (a)    (b)    (c)   . In the case of the god, the determinative for deity is frequently omitted; in the case of the country and city the determinative *Ki* is often added. The god and the country also appear as   in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser I, Adadnirari III, Ašur-naširpal, etc., and as    in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhad-don and Ašurbanapal.

<sup>3</sup> *Wo Lag das Paradies*, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (2d ed.), p. 36; Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 74, also favors Schrader's view.

The name of the city is encountered long before we meet with that of a god Ašur. The existence of the town represented by the modern Kāla't-Šerkaṭ on the Euphrates and for the excavation of which permission has recently been granted to the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*,<sup>1</sup> can now be traced back to the days of Hammurabi (c. 2250 B. C.), who towards the close of the introduction to his famous Law code<sup>2</sup> mentions both the later capital of Assyria, *Ni-mi-a(ki)*, and the first capital Ašur, the latter under the form *A-usar(ki)*.<sup>3</sup> As in the Assyrian inscriptions, Nineveh is written without the determinative for city, whereas in the case of *A-usar* the word or sign *alu* is added. The addition of *ki*, the determinative for place,<sup>4</sup> and commonly added to names of countries, shows that already in the 3d millenium B. C. there existed a district or province of Assyria. That the application of *A-usar* to the district is an extension of a designation first applied to a town needs hardly to be emphasized, but it is of some importance to note that already in the days of Hammurabi it was found necessary to differentiate between the city and the district by adding the word *alu* when the former was intended. The same designation for the district is found in a syllabary,<sup>5</sup> where in a list of ships we find

*MA A-USAR(ki)* = *clippu aš-šu-ri-tum*, i. e. Assyrian ship.

As late as the days of Sargon, in whose days, as has been observed, the scribes seem to have been fond of displaying antiquarian knowledge, this old form of the name of Assyria occurs in the dating of two tablets.<sup>6</sup> There is also a passage in a hymn to Marduk among the tablets of Ašurbanapal's library in which the first element in the name of Ašurbanapal is writ-

<sup>1</sup> See *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 20 for the first report of Koldewey's operations. On the various forms of the name see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, p. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Scheil, *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, II, p. 21, obv. Col. IV, 58-60.

<sup>3</sup> Or A-ušar. For this reading of the compound sign see Brünnow, No. 10, 138.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. therefore the city of the district A-usar.

<sup>5</sup> II. R. 46, No. 1. 2. c-d. Cf. Pognon, *L'Inscription de Bavian*, p. 31 note 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Šar mat A-usar(ki)*, 11th year of Sargon (III. R. 2, Nos. V. and VI).

ten in this antiquarian fashion.<sup>1</sup> The further proof that in early days this form A-usar was actually used by the Assyrians is furnished by one of the oldest Assyrian inscriptions known to us, that of Samsi-Adad II. (c. 1700 B. C.), who designates himself as the *patesi* of (il) A-usar, and the builder of the temple of (il) A-usar;<sup>2</sup> and we have another inscription of a Šamši-Adad<sup>3</sup> (or Samsi) who is either identical with the other or the son of Išme-Dagan (c. 1800 B. C.) mentioned by Tiglathpileser I,<sup>4</sup> in which the same spelling A-usar occurs. The writing A-usar by the side of A-šur is thus established for the oldest as well as for the latest period of Assyrian history, though we are probably safe in assuming that after the 14th century the former gave way to the latter and was only occasionally introduced by scribes or rulers fond of archaic devices in the writing of proper names. Coming back for a moment to the title *patesi* of A-usar by which Samsi-Adad designates himself, it is to be noted that while in the old Babylonian inscriptions the title *patesi*, when designating a dependent ruler, is followed by the name of a place, Širpurla, Ur, Larsa, as the case may be, we find, as Radau has pointed out,<sup>5</sup> rulers designated as the *patesi* of a god, or even of a festival or of men in general. The religious usage is presumably older than the secular one, and it is possible therefore that Samsi-Adad designates himself as the *patesi* of the god A-usar since he expressly adds the determinative for god, precisely as in the last inscription he speaks of the *bit* (il) A-usar, i. e. the temple of the god A-usar. In view, however, of the recent discovery at Kala't-Šerkaṭ of bricks containing an inscription of a still older ruler Irišum, who on one of these designates himself<sup>6</sup> as *patesi* (or *iššak*) A-usar(ki) and his father

<sup>1</sup> IV. R<sup>2</sup>. 18, No. 2, Rev. 11. Since the correct reading was pointed out as early as 1880 by Delitzsch (Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 74) it is surprising to find Sayce's queer translation of the passage in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> I. R. 6, No. 1. 2-3 and 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, p. 2. Written (il) UT-IM, whereas in the other inscription the first element is written sa-am-st.

<sup>4</sup> I. R. 15 (Col. VII.) 62-64, according to which this Šamši-Adad (here written Šam-ši-IM) ruled 641 years before Tiglathpileser = c. 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *Early Babylonian History*, p. 55, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Mittheilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Ges.*, No. 20, p. 28.

Ilu-šu-ma<sup>1</sup> as *patesi* A-šir(ki)—Ašir being a variant for A-šur,<sup>2</sup> the significance of which will be considered further on—it would seem that in the Assyrian inscriptions at least, the title *patesi* is used only in connection with a place or district. Since, furthermore, in another inscription of Irišum<sup>3</sup>—and probably also in some of those just found at Kala't-Šerkaṭ—the name of the god is also written A-šir, the identity of A-usar with Ašur as designations both of the place and the god finds further confirmation. Leaving the variant Ašir aside for the moment and confining ourselves to the two terms A-usar and A-šur, the presumption would be in favor of regarding the former term as the older from which in some way the latter was derived. From the age of the inscriptions, however, in which the two forms occur, no conclusion as to relative priority can be drawn, for it is precisely in Hammurabi's days that we encounter the form Ašur as well as A-usar. In a letter of Hammurabi addressed to Sin-iddinam,<sup>4</sup> the name appears as Aš-šur (*ki*)<sup>5</sup> written in the usual fashion of later days; and again, in a letter addressed to Hammurabi, we find the name of the country written Aš-šu-ur (*ki*).<sup>6</sup> These passages remove any doubt that may remain as to the justification of identifying A-usar with Ašur, and we are likewise justified in concluding that the proper name (*il*) A-usar-i-di-nam<sup>7</sup> occurring twice in commercial documents of the reign of Sin-muballit is equivalent to Ašur-iddin.

But while the evidence so far available does not permit a decision as to the priority of one form over the other, it is of

<sup>1</sup> So Delitzsch, l. c. note, who says that this reading, which therefore replaces the hitherto accepted Hal-lu, is perfectly clear.

<sup>2</sup> First pointed out by Meissner, *Assyriologische Studien*, I, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> I. R. 6, No. 2, l. 7 *a-na A-šir be-li-šu*, i. e. 'to Ašir his lord'.

<sup>4</sup> King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 23, obv. 7 (Vol. I, pl. 37), and Nagel in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, p. 454. Cf. Winckler, *Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> The signs *aš-šur* appear here to have been combined already into a single group as in the later Assyrian inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc.*, VI, pl. 19 (Bu. 91. 5-9. 315), l. 7. Cf. Montgomery, *Briefe aus der Zeit Hammurabi*, p. 16, and Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, p. 492.

<sup>7</sup> *Cuneiform Texts*, VIII, pl. 1 (Bu. 88. 5. 12, 3), l. 22, and pl. 4 (Bu. 88. 5. 12, 14), Rev. 23. I owe the reference to these two passages to the kindness of Dr. H. Ranke. See the latter's *Personennamen in den Urkunden der Hammurabidynastie*, I, p. 16, note 8.

some importance to note that the oldest occurrence of Ašur is in reference to the district, and that the god at this period and down to the days of Samsi-Adad II. *appears* to have been designated as A-usar, though, as a matter of course, the dearth of material between the period of Hammurabi and that of Samsi-Adad demands caution lest we build up our arguments on too slender a foundation. Granting, however, that this distinction was maintained for a period of longer or shorter duration, it does not yet follow that A-usar represents originally the designation of the deity of a place or district. On the contrary, the evidence points to the original application of the term A-usar likewise to a place. It is to be noted that when, as in the inscription of Samsi-Adad II., A-usar is used to designate the god, the determinative for deity is added, whereas if A-usar had originally been used as the name or designation of a deity, we should have expected to find the city A-usar to be written as the city of the god A-usar, that is to say, with the determinative for god retained. Such, however, is not the case, neither in the passage in Hammurabi's code referred to nor in the syllabary<sup>1</sup> explanatory of the sign equivalent to "Assyrian ship." Moreover, it is significant that in Hammurabi's code, the god of A-usar is not designated by name at all, while Ishtar under the old designation RI<sup>2</sup> is distinctly referred to, in connection with Nineveh. Hammurabi speaks merely of the *lamassu damiktin*, i. e. the gracious *lamassu* which he restores to the city A-usar.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 135, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in the introduction to Hammurabi's code, obv. Col. IV, 55-62, reads as follows :

*mu-te-ir (il) lamassu-šu da-mi-ik-tim*  
*u-na (al) A-Usar (ki) mu-še-ib-bi*  
*na-bi-ḫi šar ša i-na Ni-nu-a (ki) i-na*  
*E-miš-miš u-šu-bi-u me-e (il) Ištar*

"who restored its gracious *lamassu* to the city of A-usar, spreading splendor, the king who in Nineveh in the temple E-miš-miš has caused the name of Ištar to shine forth."

The phrase *me-e (il) Ri*=Innanna or Ištar (cf. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 135, note 1) is not altogether clear, but the most probable explanation is still that of Scheil's (*Textes Élamites-Sémitiques* II, p. 21, note 6), to regard *me-e* as a semi-ideographic writing of the plural of *šu-mu* "name" like IV. R, 60\* C, obv. 9; compared with il. B obv. 29.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that if there had existed in the days of Hammurabi a god by the name of A-usar, the king would not have failed to mention such a deity; especially in view of his practice of introducing the specific names of deities in connection with the places in which they were worshipped.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore plausible to regard the *lamassu* as Scheil suggests, as the designation of the patron deity of the city A-usar, and the fact that so general a term is used may be taken as an indication that a specific name for the deity of A-usar did not exist or was at all events not employed. As for this term *lamassu*, while it is true that in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings and also in the religious literature, *lamassu* ordinarily designates one of the colossal bulls placed at the entrances to temples and to divisions of the palaces as the protecting *genius* or demon,<sup>2</sup> the addition of the suffix *šu* in the Hammurabi passage ("its *lamassu*") as well as the description of the city's *lamassu* as *damiktim* ("gracious" or "protecting") shows that the chief protecting power of the city is intended, and not a merely general protector. A passage that forms an interesting parallel to the one under discussion occurs in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>3</sup> where in the course of an enumeration of his chief undertakings, the king says:

ana Uruk šedušu

ana E-anna lamassu ša damiktim utir

"To Uruk its *šedu*, to E-anna its gracious *lamassu* I restored."

E-anna is the temple at Uruk sacred to the chief goddess of the place, Nanâ, and who, indeed, is referred to in the preceding lines where the king speaks of restoring the ancient rites of the goddess. Here, likewise, some specific protecting deity of Uruk is meant by *lamassu* and its synonym *šedu*—probably the male associate of Nanâ who in consequence of the prominence acquired by Nanâ's cult came to occupy the secondary position which in other instances belongs to the female consorts of the

<sup>1</sup> E. g. En-lil (or Bel) in connection with E-kur (obv. Col. I, 53-62), Marduk with E-sagila (ib. II, 7-12), Sin with E-ner-nu-gal in Ur (ib. II, 14-21), Šamaš with E-barra in Sippar and Larsa (ib. II, 22-36), etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> I. R. 65, Col. I, 54, 55.

male deities. We have other evidence of the application of *lamassu* to a deity, showing that it, as well as *šēdu*, was once used for a protecting power in general<sup>1</sup> and not restricted, as we find in later times, to images erected at the entrances to temples and palaces. A syllabary<sup>2</sup> describes Papsukal—itself a designation of various gods—as *ša AN-KAL*, i. e. *ša lamassi*, and the same idea is expressed in such a proper name as Lamassi-Papsukal,<sup>3</sup> my *lamassu* (i. e. protection) is Papsukal. In incantations<sup>4</sup> Marduk is addressed as *lamassu* and we have the further evidence of syllabary<sup>5</sup> that AN-KAL is a designation of the god Bel. Ašurnasirpal<sup>6</sup> describing an image of Ninib, which he has made for the Ninib temple at Calah, defines it as a *lamassu ibītišu rabīti*, and it is plausible, therefore, that in the Hammurabi passage an image of the chief deity of A-usar is intended, though the possibility must be admitted that the expression *lamassu utēr* may have acquired the general sense of “restoring the cult.” In any case the *lamassu* stands for the chief deity of A-usar and the weight of evidence is thus thrown in favor of the view that A-usar was not originally applied to the deity of the place, but to the town or city itself. In other words, A-usar, the oldest name of the city and then extended to the district of which A-usar was the capital, furnished the name for the god of the place, who when he is first designated as A-usar—as e. g. in the inscription Samsi-Adad, is so by virtue of being the god of A-usar.

The name A-usar so far as its meaning can be determined is also more applicable to a place than to a deity. The first element signifies ‘water,’ and the third is a frequent determinative for ‘growing plants,’ so that there is much to be said in favor

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Cf. *Code de Hammurabi* (ed. Scheil), Rev. Col. XXIV, 53, where the word is used in the general sense of protection, *ina la-ma-zi-ia alyiša ina šulmim attabalšināti*.

<sup>2</sup> III. R. 67, No. 1, Rev. 61.

<sup>3</sup> See Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch* 381<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> IV. R<sup>2</sup>. 29, No. 1, Rev. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> II. R. 54, No. 1, 8<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Budge and King, *Annals*, I, p. 210 (l. 19 parallel to I. R. 23, Col. II, 133). The reading *lamassu* and the interpretation here proposed remove the difficulties felt by Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 18, note 1. The correct explanation of *An-kal* in IV. R<sup>2</sup>. 50, Col. I. 11, has been furnished by Tallqvist, *Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, p. 135.

of Delitzsch's supposition<sup>1</sup> that A-usar means "a well-watered district," though the definite proof is wanting, and as long as the meaning of *še-ūt-tum*, to which, according to a syllabary, *u-sar* corresponds,<sup>2</sup> has not been ascertained, the question must remain in abeyance.

## II.

If it be admitted that the use of A-usar as the name of a god is merely an extension of the original name of a place, the question is suggested whether the patron deity of A-usar was ever known by a specific name at all? In other words, that before becoming generally known as the god of A-usar and then as A-usar, he was designated by some such general description merely as the *lunassu* of the city. Attention has been directed to the fact that in the earliest occurrence of Ašur, viz. in the days of Hammurabi, the term is applied, with the determinative *ki* attached, to a country or district; but here, again, we must beware of drawing a conclusion from this usage as to the original application of the term. It is evident that if in the days of Hammurabi we have two distinct designations like A-usar and Ašur used side by side, we are already far removed from the period when the older of these terms came into use, and the fact that A-usar, though designating a city, has in Hammurabi's inscriptions the determinative for district *ki* attached to it, shows that the extension of the term to the district has already taken place. Despite certain appearances to the contrary, it can be shown, I think, that Ašur was originally applied to the god of the place and then extended to the city and district, by virtue of the identification of A-usar with Ašur,—contrary, therefore, to the process of development in the case of A-usar, which from being originally the name of a city, and afterwards extended with the growth of the city to the district of which the city was the centre, became also the designation of the chief god worshipped in the place as the god *of* A-usar.

The noun formation *katûl*, to which *ašur* belongs, is used to indicate the possession of some quality.<sup>3</sup> Delitzsch, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Brûnnow, No. 10, 139.

<sup>3</sup> See the examples in Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 65, 8.



who inclines to placing Ašur in the class *katāl*,<sup>1</sup> was formerly of the opinion that *ašur* designated the god as the 'holy' one or the one who brings salvation.<sup>2</sup> Jensen,<sup>3</sup> however, has shown that the underlying stem *ašāru* has the force of 'overseeing,' 'guarding' and the like, and Delitzsch<sup>4</sup> adopted this view. Ašur would therefore be the god who acts as a 'protector' or an 'overseer,' and whether we assume that this function was supposed to be exercised by him over gods, or what appears more likely, over men, it will be admitted that the epithet is an appropriate one for the chief god of a place who became also the head of an entire pantheon. This interpretation would make *ašur* not a specific name, but rather an attribute descriptive of a god's function, and it can hardly be accidental that *ašur* as the 'protector' or 'overseer' is practically synonymous with the designation *lamassu* given him in the passage in Hammurabi's code and which term, as we have seen, had already acquired in Hammurabi's days the general force of a "protecting" power.<sup>5</sup> The doubt, therefore, is justified whether the god of A-usar, who advances in time to the position of the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon, was ever known by a specific name at all. In other words, it would appear that both in earliest days and in later times, he was designated merely as the protecting power of A-usar, first of the city, and then of the district—as its *lamassu* or its *ašur*.

As strengthening the view here proposed that Ašur arose as an epithet of the chief god of A-usar, it may be pointed out that the name is *very* frequently written without the usual determinative placed before the deity, and while this practice is not uncommon in Babylonian inscriptions of the early period,<sup>6</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> So in the *Grammar*, § 65, 17, though in the Dictionary (*Handwörterbuch* 148<sup>b</sup>) he writes the word *ašur* with no indication that the last syllable is long.

<sup>2</sup> *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 148<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek* VI, 1. p. 409-410; cf. Zimmern, *Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.*, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> According to the glossary of the 4th ed. of his *Assyr. Lesestücke*, p. 159, though he also retains the other meaning of "bringing salvation." See also *Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Ges.*, No. 20, p. 37, where he again designates Ašur as "heilbringenden" oder 'heiligen.'

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> See Meissner's *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*, p. 92, where examples are given and to which many more could be added.





is the rare exception in the historical and legal literature of Assyria.

Leaving aside for the present the designation A-šir which occurs in the inscription of Irišum<sup>1</sup> as the equivalent of A-šur and is written without the determinative for deity, we find the form A-šur without the determinative in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninib I<sup>2</sup> (c. 1275) and of Ašur-reš-iši (c. 1150 B. C.),<sup>3</sup> both in the name of the latter king and of his ancestors and when occurring independently. Passing to the period between the 12th and 7th centuries, for which we have material in abundance, we cannot help being impressed by the fact that Ašur is used in quite a different way from the names of other gods, like Ištar, Šamaš, Adad, Sin, Nebo, which as specific names of gods are invariably written with the determinative for deity, whereas Ašur appears so very often without the determinative that this writing can hardly be regarded as accidental, especially when we find this method of writing to be the rule in certain texts as, e. g., in the inscriptions of Ašurnasirpal.<sup>4</sup> In the


<sup>1</sup> I. Rawlinson 6, No. 2. See p. 294 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> III. Rawlinson 4, No. 2, obv. 3 and rev. 3.

<sup>3</sup> III. Rawlinson 3, No. 6, lines 1, 5, 8.


<sup>4</sup> Already noticed by Lotz (*Inscripfen Tiglathpileser's I*, p. 75). To assume, as Lotz proposes, that the combination of *aš* and *šur* into a single group carried with it the absorption of the determinative for deity, is entirely unwarranted. Such an absorption is not only contrary to all usage of cuneiform script, but is set aside by the occurrence of the combined group *with* the addition of the determinative frequently in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (e. g., I. Rawlinson, 37, Col. I, 10, 33, 63; II, 78, etc., etc.), of Esarhaddon (I. Rawlinson, 45, Col. I, 47, III, 10, 35, etc., etc.), and also in proper names, e. g. Ašur-uballiṭ, which appears with the determinative in the inscription of Adadnirari I. (IV<sup>2</sup>. Rawlinson, 39, obv. 28), without it in an inscription of Pudilu (Lenormant, *Choix de Textes Cuneiformes*, p. 169, No. 72), and in the *Synchronous History* (II. Rawlinson, 65, obv. 8 and 10), and again as (*il*) A-šur-uballiṭ in an inscription of Marduknadinahē, the chief scribe of Ašur-uballiṭ, published by Scheil (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIX, p. 46), and republished by Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, Appendix I (p. 391, Rev. line 14). Besides  we also find occasionally —evidently the first element of  employed as an abbreviation—for the god (e. g. Budge and King, *ib.*, I. p. 158, No. 2, with a variant ; also p. 160, No. 71), as well as for the country (e. g. Budge and King, *ib.*, I, pp. 154, 155, 156, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4—inscriptions of Adadnirari II. (c. 911-890) and

inscription of Tiglathpileser I. the writing—generally A-šur—with the determinative is the rule, though it appears a number of times without it,<sup>1</sup> but in the inscriptions of Šamši-Adad II<sup>2</sup> (c. 1080 B. C.), Adadnirari III<sup>3</sup> (811–783 B. C.), Sargon<sup>4</sup> (721–705 B. C.) and Esarhaddon<sup>5</sup> the writing without the determinative appears to be very common, and this is all the more noticeable, because such a writing of the name is found in the same







Ašurnasirpal—and also as an element in proper names (*ib.*, p. 158, No. 2, and p. 160, No. 71, line 2); also in the inscription of Adadnirari III. (I. Rawlinson, 35, Nos. 3 and 4). The form  for Ašur—always without the determinative for deity—is found for the first time in an inscription of Tiglathpileser I. (III. Rawlinson, 4, No. 6, lines 5, 6, 7), where it is used for the district. This form *aš* without the determinative also constitutes a fatal objection to Lotz's supposition.

<sup>1</sup> I. Rawlinson, 9, Col. I, 52; II, 63; VII, 62; VIII, 2, with the variant (*il*) A-šur; also I. Rawlinson, 6, No. V (three times). In the inscription of Tiglathpileser's successor, Ašurbelkala, the name of the king appears as Ašur-bel-kala without the determinative (I. Rawlinson, 6, No. VI, line 1), while that of his grandfather is written (*il*) A-šur-reš-iši (*ib.*, I. 3).



<sup>2</sup> III. Rawlinson, 3, No. 9, lines 1, 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> I. Rawlinson, 35, No. 3, lines 2, 14, 16, 19, 27, whereas lines 2 and 10 we also find .

<sup>4</sup> Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's*, No. 1, lines 2 (district) 19 (city). 30 (district) No. 4, 48 (god). The name of the god in No. 1, as well as I. Rawlinson, 36, is usually written (*il*) A-šur. In Lyon, *Keils. Sargon's*, No. 2, we find (*il*) A-šur(*ki*) for the district, (*il*) Ašur for god (lines 3, 90, 94), but also without the determinative (l. 15), and similarly Ašur(*ki*) for the district (lines 20, 95, 98). In No. 3 the god appears again either as Ašur (l. 1) or (*il*) A-šur (lines 4 and 59) of the country Ašur(*ki*) (l. 52). Similar variations are found in the other inscriptions of this king, but in general the name of the god is written (*il*) A-šur and the district Ašur with or without the determinative, as is consistently done, e. g. in the Nimroud inscription (Layard, *Inscriptions, etc.*, pl. 33–34). In Sargon's inscriptions we encounter also for the first time the ideographic writing Bal-ti(*ki*) for the city (e. g. Lyon, No. 1, 5), by the side of (*al*) Ašur (l. 19); also I. R. 36, 5, and other passages cited in Delitzsch's *Wo Lag das Paradies*, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> I. R. 48, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 (in proper names), I. R. 46, Col. IV, 25; VI, 41 (god) and I. R. 45, Col. I, 2, 3; II, 2; III, 1, 39, etc. (district). In fact in the name of the district, the writing without the determinative is the only form used in Esarhaddon's inscriptions, either  or  (the latter, e. g. I. R. 48, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), whereas for the god we have also two forms with the determinative   (e. g. I. R. 45, Col. I, 47, etc.), or   (e. g. I. R. 48, No. 9; 49, Col. II, 19, etc.).

passages where other gods are mentioned, and all with the determinative. What adds to the significance of this circumstance is that Ašur is the *only* god in these historical inscriptions whose name is thus written without the determinative. Similarly, in proper names containing the element Ašur, the determinative is too frequently omitted to be regarded as a mere question of caprice. Thus, of four methods of writing the element Ašur in the name of Esarhaddon, two are without the determinative.<sup>1</sup> Among other proper names containing the element Ašur, Ašur-uballiṣ,<sup>2</sup> Ašurbelkala,<sup>3</sup> Ašur-riš-iši,<sup>4</sup> Ašur-dan,<sup>5</sup> Dur-Ašur,<sup>6</sup> Mutarriṣ-Ašur,<sup>7</sup> Til-A-šur-ri,<sup>8</sup> etc., etc., are written without the determinative, whereas we do not find this to be the case with the names of other deities, entering as elements in the formation of proper names, and when we come to legal documents, we find the writing without the determinative to be the rule and with the determinative the exception.<sup>9</sup> Again, the temple of Ašur is written as *bit Ašur* in a long list of Assyrian temples,<sup>10</sup> whereas in the case of *all* the other temples, we find invariably the determinative before the names of the gods to whom the temples were dedicated.<sup>11</sup> In this same list, moreover, we find the word *a-šur* used in connection with other gods,<sup>12</sup> and whatever the force of the term may be, it certainly is not to be interpreted here as the specific name of a particular deity, but as an epithet that could be applied to others.

<sup>1</sup>  (e. g. I. Rawlinson, 48, Nos. 2, 4, 7, 8) and  (e. g. I. R. 48, Nos. 3, 5, 6).

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, *Choix des Textes Cunéiformes*, p. 169, No. 72. l. 3. For examples of this name with determinatives see above, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> I. Rawlinson, 6, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> III. Rawlinson, 3, No. 6 (line 1); Nos. 7 and 8. See the restorations in Budge and King, *Annals*, I, pp. 23 and 25.

<sup>5</sup> III. Rawlinson, 3, No. 6 (line 8) and No. 7 (lines 3 and 5).

<sup>6</sup> I. Rawlinson, 22, Col. II, 86.

<sup>7</sup> I. Rawlinson, 30, Col. II, 17.

<sup>8</sup> I. Rawlinson, 45, Col. II, 23.

<sup>9</sup> See the Index to Johns' *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* under Ašur.

<sup>10</sup> III. Rawlinson, 86, obv. 8<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. Sin and Šamaš (*ib.*, 33, b), Sibitti (19, d), Anu (24, b).

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, 11 f., applied to Bel; 24e to Ištar.

## III.

We are now prepared to take up the question as to the significance of the variant A-šir, which it will be recalled appears three times in an inscription of Irišum.<sup>1</sup> It can hardly be regarded as accidental that the very same epithet is applied to Marduk—the head of the Babylonian pantheon after the union of the Babylonian states under Hammurabi. In a list giving titles of Marduk<sup>2</sup> he is addressed as *ašir ilāni*, the ‘guardian’ or ‘overseer’ of the gods and in a prayer addressed to Marduk<sup>3</sup> he is described as

*ašumgal* <sup>11</sup> *A-nun-na-ki*

*a-ši-ru* <sup>11</sup> *I-gi-gi*

mighty one of the Anunnaki  
overseer of the Igigi.

Similarly, Nabopolassar<sup>4</sup> calls Marduk

*a-ši-ir* *I-gi-gi*

*zu-a-ni-ik* <sup>11</sup> *A-nun-na-ki*

and again Ašurbanapal<sup>5</sup> addresses Marduk as

*a-ši-ir* <sup>11</sup> *I-gi-gi* [*a Anunnaki*]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. R. 6, No. 2. Republished by Winckler, *Zeits. f. Assyriol.*, II, p. 314 (Tafel III, No. 10), and more recently by Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, p. 1. See Meissner's notes on the text (*Assyriologische Studien*, I, p. 17). to whom, as already remarked, the correct reading A-šir is due. Twice in this inscription (ll. 3 and 6) it would refer to the district according to the interpretation above proposed (p. 288) and once (l. 7) to the god. In the newly found bricks of Irišum (*Mitteilungen der Deutsch. Orient-Ges.*, No. 20, p. 28 note) the writing also occurs for the district A-šir (ki) in the title of Ilušuma, the father of Irišum, whereas the latter is designated as *patesi A-usar(ki)*.

<sup>2</sup> K. 2107, obv. 3. (See King's *Creation Tablets*, Vol. II, Pl. 61, obv. l. 14. and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterbuch*, p. 204.)

<sup>3</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 12 (=IV<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson 57), obv. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions* I, 1, Pl. 32, Col. I, 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* I, Pl. 10, obv. 3.

<sup>6</sup> So Martin, *Textes Religieux Assyriens et Babyloniens* I, p. 46, also completes the end of the line. In connection with this epithet *aširu* given to Marduk, one is involuntarily reminded of *asaru* or *asari*, which, according to the gloss to II. Rawlinson 55, 68c, is the reading of the sign *silig* (*Assyr. Lesestücke*, 4th ed., No. 25) that designates the god Marduk (cf. the passages quoted by Brünnow No. 924). This name *Asari* appears

as the first of the fifty names bestowed upon Marduk by the gods after his conquest of Tiamat (King's *Creation Tablets* VII, 1; cf. Vol. I, p. 159), and according to the commentary S. 11 + S. 980, Obv. 1 (published by King *ib.* II. pl. 51) is the equivalent of *šāriḫ* "bestower," which accords with the words *šāriḫ miriṣti*, "bestower of planting," which follows upon the name *asari* at the beginning of the seventh tablet. This explanation, of course, disposes of any direct relationship between *aširu* and *asaru*, but the assonance suggests that *aširu* was chosen because it served as a reminder of *asaru* and the play upon the latter served as an omen of the functions of 'leadership' assigned to Marduk. A trace of such an artificial association between *asaru* and *aširu* on the part of the Babylonian priests is to be seen in the meaning *šagapuru* "leader," which in a syllabary (S<sup>b</sup> 268; Brünnow, No. 920), is given to the sign *siliḡ* and from the god, the sign is also applied to human beings, and with the determinative for man before it is the equivalent of *gišru* "strong" (II. Rawlinson 62, 20 g.). Besides *Asari*, Marduk is also called *Asaru-alim*, and the commentary to the seventh tablet of the creation story (King *ib.* II. p. 51, obv. 14), in furnishing *kabtu* 'honored' as the equivalent of *alim* is again in agreement with line three of the text of the seventh creation tablet. A further compound of *asari*, registered as the third name bestowed upon Marduk, is *Asari-alim-nunna*, where the third element adds the force of 'great,' 'mighty,' or *karubu*, as the fifth line of the seventh tablet adds after *Asari-alim-nunna*. This method of adding certain elements to *Asari* helps to explain the very common ideographic designation of Marduk as *Silig-gal-šar* (see Brünnow, No. 925), and which has occasioned such various attempts at a satisfactory explanation. It is sufficient here to refer to the views of Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, 3d ed., p. 60, note 6; Jensen, *Zeits. für Keilschriftforschung* I, 309; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 49; and *Keilinschriften u. d. A. T.*, p. 372, No. 41, and of Lehmann, *Šamaš-šumukin* II, p. 46, note 2, and to add that the Babylonian priests apparently intended to convey by means of this designation the idea of universal and strong leadership (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 113)—so that this compound likewise recalls the force inherent in *aširu*. If these considerations commend themselves, it is plausible to assume that the Assyrian priests in transferring *aširu* to their favorite deity, whom they looked upon as their chief overseer and leader, regarded themselves justified in doing so by the assonance between A-usar and *Asari*, which was even more striking than A-usar and *aširu*. At all events, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the existence of a form *asari* as a name for Marduk did not play a part, first, in leading to the choice of *aširu* as an appropriate epithet for Marduk, and, secondly, as a factor in suggesting the transfer of this epithet to the *lamassu* of A-usar. An inscription of Šamaššumukin, who was appointed by his brother Ašurbanapal to rule over Babylonia and who maintained himself from 668 to 648 B. C., bears testimony to the continued use of *Asari* (or *Asaru*) as a designation of Marduk up to a late period. Speaking of his march to Babylon to take control of the country, Šamaššumukin says (V. Rawlinson 62, No. 2, l. 15):

To be sure, the title is not limited to Marduk, for we find Nebo likewise designated as

*a-ši-ir Igigi u Anunnaki*<sup>1</sup>

---

*ultu kirib Bal-til (ki) ana šubat balātu  
ittia ḥadiš lû-îra šar ilāni (il) A-sa-ri*

from Assyria to the seat of life,  
joyfully proceeded with me the king of gods, Asari.

The "seat of life" is the city of Babylon, which is frequently written ideographically *Tin* = *balātu* and *Tir* = *šubtu* and the reference is to the carrying back to Babylon of the image of Marduk, which as an inscription of Ašurbanapal informs us (Lehman, *Šamašsumukin*, Pl. xix, 37-44) had been taken to Assyria in the days of a former king. Ašurbanapal confirms Šamašsumukin's statement, and also refers to the fact that in his days Marduk returned amidst rejoicing to Babylon. The inscription of Šamašsumukin referred to (V. Rawlinson 62, No. 2) is preserved in a "double" form, an ideographic or "Sumerian" column with a "Semitic" translation in a parallel column, though it is evident that in this case the "Sumerian" is a translation of the "Semitic" text. In the ideographic column, A-sa-ri appears as the sign *Silig*, but in the very next line, 16, we find the chief god of Babylon once more introduced as *Silig-gal-šar*, the more common form to which in the "Semitic" column Amar-ud, i. e. Marduk, corresponds. The 16th to 18th lines read :

*Bēlum rabū ḥarradu (il) Marduk  
ina E-sagila ēkal šamē u irṣiti  
šubatsu ellīti ḫabiš lû-irmi*

The great lord, the mighty Marduk  
in Esagila, the palace of heaven and earth  
graciously took his lofty seat.

In thus using two names for the head of the Babylonian pantheon, A-sa-ri and Marduk, the royal scribe must have been conscious of the assonance between Asari and Ašur and introduced the name Asari with the evident intent of suggesting that Marduk, as Asari, also belonged in a measure to Assyria, or what amounted to the same thing, that Assyria was part of Marduk's domain to the extent, at least, of being included in the scope of the god's mercy and forethought. At all events, as the only instance in an historical inscription of the phonetical writing A-sa-ri to designate Marduk, the use in connection with Marduk's departure from Assyria does not rest upon chance or caprice, but was clearly intended to serve some specific purpose.

<sup>1</sup> In an Assyrian inscription dating from the days of Tiglathpileser III (c. 727 B. C.). See Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux* XVI, 177, line 4; and also in an inscription of Esarhaddon, published by Meissner, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, III, 228 and 287, obv. 9.

but it is probable that in this case, the epithet has been transferred from Marduk to the second of the great gods of Babylonia, and a further step in this process is represented by designating Nebo simply as

*a-šir E-sagila*.<sup>1</sup>

E-sagila being the name of Marduk's temple in Babylon, it is of course Marduk who is the real *ašir* of the place. We also find in one instance a god Ma-da-nu designated<sup>2</sup> as

*a-šir<sup>u</sup> A-nun-na-ki*

which is not to be rendered as Weissbach proposes as the "gnädigste der Anunnaki,"<sup>3</sup> but again as the "chief" or "overseer." The epithet is also extended to the chief goddess Ištar, who is spoken of as<sup>4</sup>

*a-šir-rat muš-ta-lat*,<sup>5</sup>

supervising and deciding,

but even this does not mitigate against the conclusion that it is primarily Marduk to whom the epithet as the "chief" god belongs and that from him it is occasionally given to other "chief" gods. The god Ašur occupies the same position in the north that Marduk does in the south, and he does so by virtue of the central importance acquired by the city A-usar, exactly as Marduk obtains his preëminent position at the head of the Babylonian pantheon because the city of Babylon, of which he was the patron, became the capital of the country. It would be peculiarly appropriate, therefore, for the *lamassu*

<sup>1</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 22, obv. 3; *ib.*, No. 6, obv. 43, the correct reading is presumably a-šar ("place"), and not a-šir as King proposes. On the other hand, King may be correct in proposing the reading *ašira* No. 27, 6, and in that case, the epithet would also belong to Nergal.

<sup>2</sup> Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Pl. 14 (Rev.) 50. Madanu, the husband of Bau, is evidently identical with the god usually read Nin-girsu. Ideographically represented (l. 49) as "the great judge," the meaning of Madanu (from the well known stem *dānu* "judge") is also perfectly clear. Nin-girsu is a solar deity, and Šamaš, the sun-god *par excellence*, is commonly known as the "judge of heaven and earth."

<sup>3</sup> *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* II, pl. 18, l. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Iš-tar-šu muš-tal-tum (IV. R<sup>2</sup>. 7, Col. I, 13).



*lamiktim*, the "gracious protecting power" to be designated as the *aširu*, and the occurrence of this term in an inscription of so early a date as that of Irišum merely proves, confirmatory of other evidence now available, that the age of the political importance of A-usar, and of the district of which it was the centre, is far higher than only a short time ago was supposed; in other words, that the beginning of an Assyrian empire belongs to the third millenium before this era. With the fondness that Babylonians and Assyrians in common with Hebrews and Arabs had for plays upon names, the assonance between *A-usar* and *ašir* was no doubt an important factor in the choice of this epithet for the *lamassu* of the place, and the fact that *ašir* as the "overseer" conveyed about the same idea as *lamassu*, by which the god had hitherto been designated, was probably a second factor; but over and above this, the term was selected because the god of A-usar corresponded to Marduk, the *ašir* of the south, even though we cannot as yet by inscriptions trace the application of the term to Marduk as far back as the occurrence of *ašir* in Assyrian inscriptions. As to the modification of *a-šir* to *a-šur*, which took place at some time between the period of Irišum and Adadnirari I. (c. 1345 B. C.), one may perhaps account for it by the desire, equally natural, to differentiate the *a-šir* of the north from the *a-šir* of the south, and the term *a-šur* once introduced superseded the other. The change itself from *fa'il* to *fa'ul* is a comparatively slight one and the Arabic presents many examples of the interchange between the two, as, e. g. حَزْنٌ and حَزْنٌ, عَجَلٌ and عَجَلٌ, etc.<sup>1</sup> In Assyrian we may compare *šakītu*, feminine, from *šakā* (*fa'il*) by the side of *šakātu*, feminine, from *šakā* (*fa'ul*).<sup>2</sup> Beyond assonance, there is, of course, no connection between *A-usar* and *ašir*, and perhaps the desire for greater assonance may have been a factor also in leading to the use of *ašur* for *ašir*. The force of both forms is the same, or practically the same, and whatever other

<sup>1</sup> See the examples in Wright-De Goeje's *Arabic Grammar*, I, p. 134, and *Rem. a* (p. 136). Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildungen in den Semitischen Sprachen*, p. 18, § 6, a note. Similarly the forms *fa'il* and *fa'ul* are synonymous and the former replaces to a large extent the latter. Cf. Barth, *ib.*, p. 43c and p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 65, nrr. 7 and 8.

motives contributed to the interchange, it is both interesting and significant to note that while the former in time superseded the latter, *ašir* did not entirely disappear as the designation of the chief god of Assyria. In the so-called Cappadocian tablets<sup>1</sup> which date, presumably, from c. 1100 B. C., we meet A-šir frequently as an element in proper names, and since in a number of cases it forms a variant to A-šur, there can be no doubt of the identity of the two forms, and that they both designate the head of the Assyrian pantheon. Thus, we have A-šir-ma-lik (No. 10, 6) by the side of A-šur-ma-lik<sup>2</sup> (No. 3, 4; 6, 5, etc.), A-šir-rabi (No. 8, 3), and in the same text the same personage appears as A-šur-rabi (l. 12). Other names compounded with A-šir occurring in these tablets are A-šir-ta-a-a-ar (No. 1, 3), A-mur-A-šir (No. 4, 15), En-nam-A-šir (No. 7, 21), Ma-nu-um-ba-lim-A-šir (No. 16, 4), and probably also—according to Delitzsch<sup>3</sup>—A-šir-e-mu-ki (No. 9, 4). Delitzsch<sup>4</sup> very properly expresses astonishment at the somewhat remarkable form, but in view of what has just been pointed out, the mystery is cleared up and these examples show that the form A-šir in Irišum's inscriptions is not an exceptional one. In thus connecting A-šur through the mediation of A-šir with the god in the Babylonian pantheon of whom he forms in a measure the northern counterpart, we have removed from the name that element of uniqueness which has hitherto been a puzzle to scholars. The Babylonian and Assyrian pantheons being in other respects identical, the gods appearing in Assyrian inscriptions being the same as those encountered in the south, and even the chief goddess of Assyria, Ištar, bearing a name that belonged to a Babylonian deity worshipped in one of the old centers of the south, it would certainly be strange to find the name given to the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon to be so entirely original. The explanation here suggested furnishes the link that we have a right to look for between the north and the south, in view of the depend-

<sup>1</sup> See Golenischeff, *Vingt-quatre Tablettes Cappadociennes* (St. Petersburg, 1891), from whose edition these examples are taken. The proper names in these Cappadocian tablets bear in general, according to Dr. Ranke, (private communication) an 'archaic' character.

<sup>2</sup> Not the same personage, however, as A-šir-ma-lik.

<sup>3</sup> *Zur Entzifferung und Erklärung der Kappadokischen Keilschrifttafeln* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 267.

ence of the former upon the latter for its culture, its cult, its beliefs and its theology, as well as for its theological nomenclature. At the same time the later differentiation represented by *a-šur* in place of *a-šir* would have been regarded sufficient as a distinguishing designation from Marduk and other deities of the south on whom the epithet *a-šir* had been conferred, and was presumably introduced with this purpose in view not long after *a-šir*, originally merely a descriptive epithet, came to be the designation for the chief god of A-usar and thus assumed, as its origin was forgotten, the character of a real name. A trace, however, of the purely descriptive nature of the designation may be seen in the frequent writing of the name without the determinative for deity and to which attention was above directed.<sup>1</sup> In this way the consciousness that Ašur-Ašir was not a specific designation of the deity, but represented an attribute that indicated his position in the pantheon, was preserved, and the bond at the same time maintained which connected the "overseer" and "guardian" with the still earlier designation of *lamassu* (or "protector") of the city and of the district A-usar. While, therefore, the invariable addition in Assyrian inscriptions of the determinative for deity before Šamaš, Nebo, Ištar, Nergal and all the other gods invoked or introduced as elements in the formation of proper names, gave to those designations in the full sense of the word the character of *specific* names, the frequent and at certain periods consistent omission of the determinative before Ašur served to remind the "initiated" at least that A-šur was not a real name but merely a description of the god as the general "overseer" or "protector," precisely as the older designation *lamassu* retained this purely descriptive character. Ašur corresponds, therefore, more to such designations as the "Omnipotent," the "All Wise," the "Supreme one," which we might use in place of the more specific designation of the Deity as "God" or "Jehovah."

This *impersonal* aspect, thus embodied in the designation A-šur, accords with the peculiar position that the god occupies in the Assyrian pantheon. Despite his prominence in the historical inscriptions, the *personal* side of Ašur, so to speak, is not brought forward in the same way as is that of other deities.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 291 *et seq.*

The kings do not refer to statues of the god, and temples of Ašur do not appear to have been as numerous as those of Ištar, Sin, Šamaš and Nebo. Tiglathpileser I., although fulsome in his praise of Ašur, does not deposit the most important document of his reign in Ašur's temple, but in one dedicated to Anu and Adad.<sup>1</sup> Adadnirari III. (811-783 B. C.) erects numerous statues to Nebo and addresses him in such terms as almost to convey the impression that he acknowledged the supremacy of this god alone.

O Posterity! Trust in Nebo. Trust in no other god!

is the inscription which he places on a statue of this god.<sup>2</sup> Surely, Ašur must have occupied a peculiar position in Assyria to warrant a king who had no intention whatsoever of introducing a rival to Ašur, in using such language of another god. It would seem, indeed, that by the side of Ašur, the Assyrian kings were in the habit of choosing some other deity as their special patron, one selecting Ninib,<sup>3</sup> another Nebo,<sup>4</sup> a third Šamaš,<sup>5</sup> and the like.<sup>6</sup> We do not find pictures of Ašur on seal cylinders, as we find representations of Šamaš, Sin, Ištar, Adad and others. Instead of being glorified by temples and statues, he is represented by a standard, surmounted by his symbol—a winged disc—which is carried about with the Assyrian armies. Though the protecting deity, originally, of a single place, his centre of worship, the old city on the Tigris, does not continue to be the capital of Assyria. Šalmaneser I. (c. 1330 B. C.) has no hesitation in transferring the seat of government to Calah, and though subsequently Tiglathpileser I. (c. 1100) endeavors to secure for Ašur its former preëminence, that does not hinder his successors from passing still further to the north, and in the heyday of Assyria's glory it is not to Ašur but to Nineveh to which the emissaries of the nations come with their tribute. We cannot conceive of Babylonian rulers, after once acknowl-

<sup>1</sup> I. Rawlinson, 16, Col. VIII, 39-46.

<sup>2</sup> I. Rawlinson, 35, No. 2, l. 12.

<sup>3</sup> So, e. g., Ašurnasirpal.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., Adadnirari III.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., Šalmaneser II.

<sup>6</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 221, 225-226 and 238.

edging the supremacy of Marduk, deliberately removing the capital to some place with which Marduk has nothing to do. Marduk belongs for all time to the city of Babylon; and if such changes in the north do not affect the position of Ašur, it is evidently because, though originally a local deity, it is not exclusively as such that he acquires and maintains his position, but rather as the general patron of Assyrian armies, as a protecting power spreading his beneficent influence over all of Assyria, a kind of patron saint of Assyria under whose guidance the Assyrian armies marched to victory, a power who sums up the spirit and peculiar genius of Assyria, not conceived of like the other gods as a symbol of a natural power—though he may have been so originally,—or thought of as dwelling in a particular location—though once a local deity—but in reality, as Hammurabi calls him, a *lamassu damiktim*—a gracious and protecting force, the *daemon* of Assyria, who presides over the fate of the country and merely because the chief trait of Assyria was military prowess, does Ašur become, primarily, a god of war. In other words, as in the south, the attempt towards a spiritualization of the religious beliefs has its outcome in the establishment of the doctrine of a trinity, consisting of Anu, Bel and Ea, who, dividing among themselves the upper element, the earth and the waters, respectively, preside over the whole universe<sup>1</sup> and stand alone and apart from other gods, so in Assyria the spiritual element, which is to be found in every religion, finds an expression in the conception which dominates Assyrian history of a power who, quite independent of the other gods and on quite a different plane from them, is the protector of Assyria *par excellence*—the *ašir* or *ašur* of the country. Sayce, in his first series of lectures on the Religion of the Babylonians,<sup>2</sup> recognizes and emphasizes this quite exceptional character of Ašur among the gods of the Assyrian pantheon and which makes him so much more than the mere head of this pantheon. He also calls attention to the fact that Ašur is childless and has no female counterpart, though occasionally Ištar is spoken of in terms which might lead us to suppose that she was regarded as such. This, however, is not

<sup>1</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), p. 126 seq.: see also *Gifford Lectures* (1902), pp. 371–372.

the case, and the frequent association of Ašur and Ištar—especially in the inscriptions of Ašurbanipal—is due to the importance of the latter as the chief goddess of the later capital of Assyria, the city of Nineveh. Sayce sums up his discussion of Ašur as follows:<sup>1</sup> “We can, in fact, trace in him all the lineaments upon which under other conditions there might have been built up as pure a faith as that of the God of Israel.” Whether one is prepared to go to such a length or not, certainly despite the severe and cruel aspects that Ašur as a god of war takes on, he represents a genuine attempt at the spiritualization of conceptions held about divine government. The later designation of this god as Ašir or Ašur, replacing the earlier one of *lumassu*, did not interfere, but on the contrary, assisted this process, since it represented not a name of a god but an epithet transferred from Marduk to the chief protecting power of the northern pantheon, and while in the differentiated form A-šur, the epithet came to be so closely associated with the chief god of A-usar as to take on the trait of a name and eventually was extended to the city and district over which he exercised jurisdiction, setting aside almost entirely the older designation A-usar, yet the consciousness that Ašur was in reality an epithet having the force of “protector” or “overseer” was never entirely lost, as is shown by the frequent omission of the determinative for deity when the term is used. There is thus an aspect to this method of writing the term that came to be regarded as the name of the god, which imparts to it something more than a merely arbitrary practice or a peculiarity of certain Assyrian scribes.

My proposition, then, is that the designation A-šur, transformed from an older form A-šir, represents an epithet originally applied to Marduk and transferred to the chief god of A-usar, because the latter occupied to so large an extent the same position in the north that Marduk did in the south, while the assonance with A-usar, the oldest name of the locality in which the northern deity in question was worshipped, was also a factor in leading to the transfer of the epithet. Whether the chief god of A-usar ever had a specific name previous to this introduction of Ašir-Ašur, is a question to which no definite answer can be given,


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<sup>1</sup> *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 129.

though the circumstance that Hammurabi designates him merely as the "gracious protector," would seem to indicate that such was not the case. At all events, as early as the third millenium before this era, the god of A-usar is viewed as a general protecting power of the district of which A-usar was the centre. The same process which led A-usar, originally the name of the city, to be extended to the chief god of the place, so that with the addition of the determinative for deity, this god was written as the god A-usar—in reality the god *of* A-usar—brought about the extension of the deity's epithet Ašur to the city and to the district, so that, instead of A-usar, it became customary to speak of the city and district of Ašur, which was in reality the city and district of the god Ašur.

Delitzsch's view, above referred to, thus turns out to be right so far as A-usar is concerned, which was originally the name of a place, while Schrader and those who follow him are correct in regarding Ašur as a term that was originally applied to a deity.

#### IV.

There is still one aspect of the problem connected with the god Ašur that may appropriately be discussed here. Besides the phonetic method of writing the name of the god as A-šur or Aš-šur,—the two signs in this form generally combined into a single group,—we find in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ašurbanapal the form A.<sup>1</sup> In the inscriptions of Ašurbanapal, indeed, this becomes the common form both for the name of the god and, with the addition of the usual determinative *ki*, as the designation of the district. The identity in form between this method of designating the chief god of Assyria, and a god who appears in several of the tablets of the Babylonian creation story,<sup>2</sup> has been the subject of much discussion among scholars, who were naturally led to assume a direct relationship between the two. While due consideration was given to the difficulties involved in such a relationship,

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Meissner-Rost, *Bauinschriften Sennacheribs*, K. 5413<sup>a</sup>, line 1. 7; K. 1356, line 1, etc. I. Rawlinson 48, No. 9: 49 Col. II, 19 (Esarhaddon), and in the inscriptions of Ašurbanapal *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages in the index to King's *Creation Tablets*, Vol. I, p. 266.

especially by Jensen<sup>1</sup> in his acute remarks on the subject, even the latter inclined to the view that *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶*, i. e., An-šar (as the signs are usually read) of the creation story, had something to do with Ašur. Such a view found an apparent support in the form Ἀσσωρός which Damascius, in his summary of Babylonian beliefs (on the basis of Berosus) (?), furnishes for An-šar.<sup>2</sup> Since this same Damascius gives the form of the deity, associated with An-šar, correctly as Κισσαρή, i. e., Ki-šar, there was a presumption in favor of placing confidence in the reading Assóros, which naturally suggests A-šur especially in the form Aš-šur, though the change from a supposed contraction of An-šar to Aš-šar and then to Aš-šur (Aš-šôr) remained to be accounted for. All, however, that can legitimately be concluded from the form *Assóros* in Damascius is that the latter, and presumably, therefore, also Berosus, believed in the identity of An-šar with the god A-šur; and even if we should go further and assume that the Assyrian priests, in their desire to glorify their own chief, proposed to identify him with the god who played a part in the time-honored creation epic, that would not yet establish the correctness of the view.

As a matter of fact there are no phonetic laws in Assyrian that could satisfactorily account for the transition of An-šar<sup>3</sup> to A-šur or even Aš-šur. Apart from this, if we turn to the rôle assigned to An-šar in the creation story, we will find that there is no possibility of connecting this figure with a god like Ašur.

In the first creation tablet, An-šar and Ki-šar are introduced as the second pair of deities that were produced.<sup>4</sup> Though coming after Lahmu and Lahamu,<sup>5</sup> they apparently are given the superiority over the latter,<sup>6</sup> and at all events in the continuation of the story, it is An-šar who appears as directing the movements of the gods and not Lahmu. The association of

<sup>1</sup> *Zeits. f. Assyriologie* I, pp. 3-7.

<sup>2</sup> See the passage in full in King's *Creation Tablets*, Vol. I, p. xxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> A reading *šur* by the side of *šar* assumed by Jensen (*Zeits. f. Assyriologie* I, p. 4) as possible does not exist. Delitzsch has abandoned the view expressed in the 2d ed. of his *Lesestücke*, p. 31 [cf. Bezold, *Zeits. f. Keilschrift*, II, p. 66], and the signs referred to by Haupt in his *Sumerische Familiengesetze*, p. 63, are to be read *ip-di*.

<sup>4</sup> Tablet I, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, l. 10.

<sup>6</sup> According to King's very plausible restoration of l. 12; see King's *Creation Tablets*, Vol. I, p. 4, note 6.



Ki-šar with An-šar leaves no doubt as to the interpretation to be put upon both names. The element common to both—*šar*—is commonly the equivalent of *kiššatu*, i. e., 'totality,' 'universe' and the like, while An = *šamū* 'heaven' and Ki = *irgītu* 'earth.' An-šar, accordingly, represents a personification or a combination of the forces of heaven, while Ki-šar, viewed as the "female" complement, is an embodiment of the forces of earth. Surely, no more is required than this statement of the interpretation of the names, to show that we are dealing here with a theological doctrine and not with a popular belief, though the doctrine may rest upon some very primitive and crude popular attempt to form a theory of the beginning of things. Back of the triad Anu, Bel and Ea, representing a mere advanced theory of the universe which recognized a threefold division,<sup>1</sup> and which in turn gave way to a more "practical" triad, Sin, Šamaš and Adad, or Sin, Šamaš and Ištar, we have a twofold division of the universe represented by An-šar and Ki-šar, from which pair the triad Anu, Bel and Ea, the first representing the upper or 'heavenly' ocean, the third the 'terrestrial' ocean, separated by Bel,<sup>2</sup> are evolved. In the present form of the Babylonian creation story, itself the outcome of an elaborate and completed theological process of speculation and composition, we have two distinct conflicts<sup>3</sup> which had to be waged before order, as represented by the gods of the later Babylonian pantheon, could be established in the Universe: (1) the conflict organized by Apsu and his messenger, Mummu, against the gods, and in which the help of the monster Tiamat is invoked by Apsu; (2) the conflict between Tiamat and the gods. In the former, resulting in the overthrow of Apsu and Mummu, Ea is represented as the conqueror; in the latter, ending with the discomfiture of Tiamat, Marduk is the victor, though it has been shown that in an earlier version it was Bel (En-lil) and not Marduk, who played the rôle of conqueror.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Radau's interpretation of the significance of this division (*Creation Story of Genesis I*, pp. 51-53), with which, in the main, I agree.

<sup>2</sup> Radau *ib.*, p. 53. <sup>3</sup> See King's *Creation Tablets*, Vol. I, xxxvii seq.

<sup>4</sup> See Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 439-441, and for the modified and revised form of the writer's interpretation of the Babylonian creation story, with translations and a full analysis of the texts in question, consult the forthcoming part in the German edition of his work.

The combination of the two conflicts as well as the later substitution of Marduk for Bel indicate the composite character of the present tale. The two conflicts are merely two versions—and the process of construction is the same to which we have become accustomed by the critical analysis of the myths, legends and traditions of the book of Genesis, and which in most cases represent likewise the combination of two versions. Apsu and Mummu, on the one hand, and Tiamat, on the other, are “doublets.” Apsu and Tiamat are symbols or representatives of chaos, while Mummu is again a “doublet” of Apsu—resting, perhaps, on a third version—but for whom, in the construction of the two versions, no other place could be found than that of a superfluous “go-between” between Apsu and Tiamat—a counterpart to Gaga, who acts in a similar capacity of messenger to the gods.<sup>1</sup> In the narrative of both conflicts, however, it is An-šar who presides over the assembly of the gods, the representatives of order and light, and who directs their movement against the forces of chaos and darkness led by Apsu and Tiamat, while Lahmu and Lahamu, the oldest pair of all, are ranged in the second conflict on the side of Tiamat. Ki-šar plays no part in either of the conflicts, and being only mentioned once in the line in which the birth of An-šar and Ki-šar is announced, is clearly an artificial figure introduced under the general influence of the theory which assigned to every god a female counterpart or companion. An-šar and Ki-šar are thus two figures, like Nut (heaven) and Keb (earth) who in the “Heliopolitan” form of Egyptian cosmogony, are represented as lying in close embrace in the primeval waters until separated by Shu, who lifts Nut—in Egyptian theology<sup>2</sup> the female element—up from Keb. We may thus distinguish two phases in the theological conceptions evolved with regard to An-šar, the one representing him as the chief of the forces of the upper world, where according to the current view developed in connection with astrological science the gods dwell, the other making him with Ki-šar cover the entire scope of the universe. The former phase brings An-šar

<sup>1</sup> Tablet III, 2 and 3, where Gaga is called *sukallu*, i. e. messenger, precisely as Mummu is in the first tablet, lines 30 and 31.

<sup>2</sup> See Lange in Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (2d ed.), I, 146.

into a certain relationship to Anu, who, as the first member of the triad, is pictured as in general control of the heavens, but it is clear that An-šar belongs to an earlier stage before the development of the triad doctrine and at a period when Anu was regarded as constituting the entire cosmic principle. Such a doctrine underlies the interesting list II. Rawlinson, 54, No. 3, obv., and also in a measure the list III. R., 69, No. 1, obv., according to which a pre-cosmic Anu produces the general forces of heaven and earth, or, as Jensen<sup>1</sup> aptly expresses it, "das Himmelsprincip und das Erdprincip." Either emanating from Anu or regarded as emanations of the "heavenly" principle (An=Anu) in combination with the "earthly" principle (Ki=iršitum), ten pairs of gods are registered, among them as the third pair An-šar and Ki-šar. This enumeration is to be taken again as a proof of the existence of various theological doctrines in Babylonia which, though agreeing in the main principles, vary in nomenclature and in questions of detail.<sup>2</sup> In the first tablet of the Creation story, An-šar and Ki-šar occupy the place accorded in the two lists to An and to Ki or Antum, the feminine of Anu, which appears to have been regarded as equivalent to Ki,<sup>3</sup> while in the subsequent tablets An-šar giving directions to Anu, Ea and Bel-Marduk represents the "pre-cosmic" Anu standing in the lists before An+Ki (or An+Antum).

It is evident that such theories and speculations with regard to Anu and An-šar belong to a different order of thought from the views held in regard to gods who constitute what one may call the active pantheon, and there is clearly no warrant in associating either the An-šar in the lists referred to or the two

<sup>1</sup> *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 274; see also the discussion, *ib.*, p. 192 seq. and Radau, *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times* (Monist XIV. 81-87).

<sup>2</sup> In this list, e. g., Lahmu and Lahamu constitute the seventh pair, whereas in the Creation story they precede An-šar and Ki-šar.

<sup>3</sup> III. Rawlinson, 69, No. 1, obv., lines 2 and 3. (Cf. II. Rawlinson, 54, No. 3, obv., lines 2-3).

*An-tum=Ki-tim=iršitum* ("earth")

*An-Ki=Anu u [Antum.]*

Space forbids me from discussing Radau's views of An-šar and Ki-šar as set forth in his article 'Bel, The Christ of Ancient Times' (Monist XIV, pp. 79 seq.) but they appear to me entirely untenable.

phases of An-šar in the Creation story with a god like A-šur, who appears in the historical inscriptions and in the hymns, purely, as the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon, whose associates are gods like Šamaš, Adad, Ištar, Nebo, Nusku, who play no part in the cosmological doctrines under discussion. In the historical inscriptions An-šar and Ki-šar do not appear at all, while in religious texts we encounter them only in such invocations as are found in the incantation text II. Rawlinson, 18, 60 a-b,<sup>1</sup>

niš An-šar (il) Ki-šar,

as a phrase to indicate the combined appeal to all the spirits or forces of heaven and earth. The phrase itself may, indeed, be regarded as betraying the influence of the speculations regarding An-šar and Ki-šar, without, however, involving a strict application. For, since we find in these same texts the phrase,"

ZI An(na) and ZI Ki(a)

as an appeal to the powers of heaven and earth, the addition of *šar* appears to have been introduced merely to give the added force of the totality of those powers—without, therefore, embodying the ideas associated with An-šar and Ki-šar in the Creation narrative. What applies to An-šar and Ki-šar also holds good for Lahmu and Lahamu of the Creation tablets as well as for the other pairs mentioned in the lists above referred to, with the exception of Ib and Nin-ib, who, indeed, belong to the active pantheon. Lahmu occurs also in a long list<sup>2</sup> of over one hundred gods invoked in an incantation text, but the purpose of these lists being to enumerate as many powers as possible so as to form a formidable phalanx against the attacks of the demons, such an occurrence does not argue in favor of any real rôle played by the gods so introduced. Moreover, it is a feature of the incantation texts to preserve, as do the proper names, the names of gods that have otherwise no place in the popular mind.<sup>4</sup> Again, in an incantation ritual, Alala and Belili, who

<sup>1</sup> Republished by Haupt, *Akkad. und Sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> II. Rawlinson, 17, obv. 7, to be repeated at the end of each section.

<sup>3</sup> Šurpu-Series (ed. Zimmern), VIII, 19.

<sup>4</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion Babyl. und Assyr.*, pp. 161, 166 and 322.

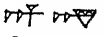

likewise occur<sup>1</sup> in the lists as the eighth pair by the side of Lahmu and Lahamu, and Belili as well as Alala play a part in certain old myths and legends,<sup>2</sup> but they do not enter into either the Babylonian or Assyrian pantheon in the proper sense.

Lastly, the circumstance that the writing An-šar for the god Ašur is not encountered until so late a period as the days of Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.), enforces the other fatal objections against any real connection between the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon and the An-šar of the creation story. That the scribes of Sennacherib, in hitting upon this new form of writing the name of their favorite deity, were influenced by a desire to connect Ašur with An-šar and thus to score a triumph over the Marduk priests, who modified the old tale by assigning to their favorite the rôle belonging to Bel, may, indeed, be admitted as probable, or at all events as possible. The form *Assôros* preserved by Damascius speaks, as already intimated, in favor of such an identification having been made at one time, and the device, it must be admitted, was an ingenious one on the part of the Assyrian theologians, for since it is An-šar who dispatches Marduk on his mission against Tiamat, the superiority of Ašur over Marduk would thus be implied, and we may well suppose that the "discovery" that the old An-šar, who directs *all* the gods, was none other than Ašur, acquired great popularity in Assyria. The philological difficulties involved would not have inconvenienced the grammarians of Sennacherib's court, and if, by a play on words, A-usar could be connected with A-šir and A-šur, no objection could be raised against connecting An-šar with A-šur. If any further proof was desired the learned priest could point to the form Aš-šur,<sup>3</sup> which was so commonly used

<sup>1</sup> See Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 274. The use of Lahmu by Nabonidus (V. Rawlinson. 64, Col. II, 16-17) as the designation of images of monsters merely shows that the name survived, but not that a deity of that name was worshipped.

<sup>2</sup> Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 589.

<sup>3</sup> The origin of this form, which we have seen may be traced back to the days of Pudu in the 14th century, is indeed not altogether clear. It may have originated in an attempt to differentiate in writing the names of the district (and city) from that of the god, so that the views formerly held by scholars—and still maintained by Jensen in 1886 (*Zeits. f. Assyriol.* I, p. 3)—may thus turn out to rest upon a basis, albeit a false one, supplied by the Assyrian scribes. At all events, however the form is to be explained, it is certain that Aš-šur is merely a variant writing of A-šur, just as Aš for the district and the god is in turn an abbreviation of Aš-šur.

for the god by the side of A-šur, and as for the interchange between *šur* and *šar*, that would be set aside by the proximity in the graphic forms for *šur* and *šar*. The two characters were almost identical except that in one case the wedges appeared with the addition of a small horizontal wedge vertical, and in the other were slanted. The chain of argument would thus be complete and the scribe who read his paper on An-šar-Ašur before the Oriental Society of ancient Assyria enjoyed the satisfaction, no doubt, of having convinced his auditors. But conscious of our own imperfections, let us not be too severe on our predecessors, and, after all, we may be doing the latter an injustice in assuming that by the writing An-šar for their god they wished to connect A-šur with the time-honored figure of An-sar. Perhaps they only wished to indicate by changing  to  that the chief god of the Assyrian pantheon was the god of "totality" (*kiššatu*), without direct reference to the figure of An-sar. The sign *šar* has also and very frequently the force of *tābu* "good," so that An-sar might designate A-šur, merely, as the "good" god.<sup>1</sup> Let us give the Assyrian theologians, therefore, the benefit of the doubt, and at all events, recognize that there is no connection whatever, except a remote assonance, between either of the two phases above pointed out of An-šar, who is essentially a creation of learned speculation about the beginning of things in Babylonia, and A-šir-A-šur, who retains throughout the various periods of Assyrian history the character of the *lunassu damiḫtinu* of A-nsar, "the gracious protector" of Assyria, and especially of her kings and armies, —the character given to him in the earliest specific mention of the deity in the code of Hammurabi and which is also implied in the form A-šir, to which A-šur itself is to be traced back.

<sup>1</sup> Brünnow, No. 8239; *šar* is also the equivalent of *gītmalu* "perfect" (Brünnow, No. 8216), so that An-šar might designate A-šur as the "perfect one," but this meaning is much less common than *tābu* and need hardly be taken into consideration.

<sup>2</sup> The probable existence of a distinctively 'Assyrian' version of the creation story, in which the rôle of conqueror of Tiamat is assigned to Anšar (*Cuneiform Texts*, Part xiii., pl. 25-26), may also be taken as an indication that the identification of Anšar with Ašur was made, or at least attempted, by the theologians of Nineveh. See Zimmern, *Keil-inschriften und das A. T.*, p. 496, and King's seven *Creation Tablets*, I, pp. 197-200.

*The Kitáb Masûlik an-Nazar of Sa'id ibn Hasan of Alexandria. Edited for the first time and translated with Introduction and Notes.—By SIDNEY ADAMS WESTON.*

For the Moslems, Mohammed is the great prophet whom the inspired writers of the Old Testament announced. They believe that it was definitely predicted in the Hebrew scriptures that he should be born of the offspring of Ishmael, and be supreme over all the peoples of the world. So important is this belief, that many of the Jewish converts to Islam have felt that they were performing valuable service to their new faith if they adduced arguments and passages from their sacred scriptures in support of the proposition. The following treatise, the work of one Sa'id ibn Hasan of Alexandria, furnishes an interesting and important illustration of this attempt.

In order more clearly to understand the treatise, it will be well first to consider some facts regarding its author, the customs and issues of his time, the date of his book and the special reason for its composition; and further, the argument which he presents, and the characteristic features of his work as a whole.

Sa'id was an Alexandrian Jew converted to Islam in May, 1298 A.D., the immediate cause of his conversion being his miraculous recovery from a serious illness, as he graphically relates (Ms., pp. 32 ff.). The time of his conversion, as well as the character of the man, was well fitted to bring forth such a controversial essay as his, for at that time the Oriental Moslem was very troublesome. Three years previously there had been converted to Islam Ghâzân Khân, great grandson of the conquering Mongol Hûlâghû and son of Ilkhân Arghûn. A little later he triumphantly entered Syria, where he destroyed the power of the Egyptian prince Al-Malik An-Nâsir Kîlâwûn, who ruled over that country. But in 1303 this Egyptian prince returned to Syria with his army and inflicted on the Mongols a bloody defeat near Ghabâghib in the Hauran (Ms. p. 35). See Müller, *Islam* ii., p. 262 f., and Goldziher, *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xxx., p. 5.

Moreover, Sa'id's conversion was near the close of the century, a most important time from the Moslem point of view, for they believe that at the turning of each century God will send a regenerator of Islam (Goldziher, *ibid.*). Their makers of apocalypses predicted political revolutions for these times, and prophecies of this kind stirred up the Moslems at the end of each century.

All these events had a great influence on Sa'id. He was a fanatic and a zealous partisan of Islam. Toward other faiths he was extremely intolerant. His ideal was for Islam to be the supreme and only religion; all others must be blotted out. Hence he advocated closing the temples of other faiths, together with those extreme measures enforced from time to time in Islam against other beliefs.

The rights of the Jews and Christians in regard to their houses of prayer, which Sa'id so vigorously attacked, were a vital point of controversy throughout the history of Islam. A brief consideration of those rights will make clear the issues of his own time.

Among the restrictions which 'Omar ibn al-Khaţţáb imposed on the Jews and Christians of Syria is found the important clause: "In paying the tax of tolerance the synagogues and churches existing at the time of the Conquest shall be respected provided the worship has been peaceful, and provided they do not build any other temples." Yet this provision was not very strictly enforced, and even so far back as the time of the Omayyads the prohibition was not very binding. Under the Abbasids the law was more severe toward the other faiths, because the Abbasid rulers looked upon the government as a religious corporation, and hence believed themselves to have spiritual as well as temporal oversight. They put forth the idea of excluding unbelievers from every official function, and of strictly enforcing the law prohibiting Jews and Christians from constructing new temples (Goldziher, *ibid.*).

But the fact that from time to time orders were given to "destroy all the churches built since the introduction of Islam," shows that churches had been built, and that the law varied in its severity at different times. This indecision in the application of the religious law was a source of much trouble for non-Moslem inhabitants of Moslem countries, and especially for the



Jews. It constantly exposed them to fanaticism, and they never knew when they were secure in their rights. Moreover, it was often very difficult for the government to restrain the fanaticism of the Ulemas, even when it so desired.

It seemed to Sa'id that the time (the end of the seventh century of the Hijra) was ripe for a renewal of these agitations against other beliefs. In 1305 A.D. the Egyptian prince Al-Malik An-Nāṣir returned from his victorious campaign in Syria, and made a proclamation which renewed the law of exception imposed on the Jews and Christians. This ordinance was proclaimed in all his provinces from the boundary of Nubia to the Euphrates. Although he made no mention of the restriction concerning religious buildings, and evidently had no intention of prohibiting Jews and Christians from using and keeping their houses of prayer in order, nevertheless the people immediately began to maltreat the Jews and Christians, and the fanatics began to destroy the churches and synagogues. The Ulemas said that only the churches and synagogues which had stood before the rise of Islam had a right to remain; all others ought to be torn down. Thus many churches in Egypt and Syria were destroyed and the rest closed until on the intervention of certain powerful Christians the vandalism was stopped and the churches reopened (see Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv., pp. 270-272).

The authorities, however, were too tolerant for Sa'id, who sympathized with the Ulemas. He ominously predicted the coming of rebellions at the end of 700 lunar years of the Hijra (Ms., p. 35), basing his prediction on a pseudo-prophecy from the Torah. It was apparently his purpose to foster an outbreak against the churches and synagogues of the Christians and Jews. But seeing that this would not succeed, unless the government approved, he resorted to writing, and this treatise is an expression of his feelings.

His work, which he says he often called "Al-Muḥiṭ" (the Comprehensive), was composed in April, 1320 A.D., twenty-two years after his conversion and two years before the catastrophe which he fears may befall the kingdom of the Moslems "at the end of 700 solar years of the Hijra" (Ms., p. 36). It was written in the Mosque of the Omayyads at Damascus. No doubt he found there a people in sympathy with his aims and

ideas, and hence an excellent field for promulgating his doctrines and arousing agitations.

To prove Mohammed's right to the prophetic office is the main purpose of his dissertation. Having done this, all the rest necessarily follows; that is, his religion is the supreme and only one; other religions must be crushed, their houses of worship closed, and the images and pictures destroyed. That is what he expressly says or practically implies. His arguments for the prophetic office of Mohammed are based on passages from the Old Testament, which he changes and interprets to suit his purposes, after the manner of his contemporaries. In brief they are as follows:

1. (Ms., p. 3.) God showed Noah Mohammed among the prophets who were to come, and promised Noah that for the sake of this prophet he would never again destroy the earth by a flood.

2. (Ms., p. 3-4.) God promised Abraham that he would give the land to his offspring. He also promised him that he would bless Ishmael and multiply him and make him great, and make his offspring as numerous as the stars of the heavens and that from him should come Mohammed. In regard to the two words **מֵאֵד מֵאֵד**, which occur in the prophecy about Ishmael (Gen. 17<sup>20</sup>) and to which Sa'id attaches great importance, he affirms that some interpret "Ahmed, Ahmed," others "Very, Very," still others "Great, Great," and of the offspring of Ishmael there is none greater than Mohammed.

3. (Ms., p. 4-5.) God appeared to Hagar at the water-spring and promised her that from her child [Ishmael] should come Mohammed, and that his offspring should be as numerous as the stars of the heavens.

4. (Ms., p. 5.) Jacob gathered his children when he was about to die, and said he would tell them of the things to happen in the last time. His children promised him that they would continue to serve his God and the God of his fathers, Abraham, *Ishmael* and Isaac. From the fact that Jacob's prediction is not found in the Torah, the author argues that it, with the name of the prophet Mohammed, has been fraudulently removed from this place.

5. (Ms., p. 5.) Balaam is made to say, "Behold a star appearing from the family of Ishmael, and a tribe of the Arabs

helping him." At his (Mohammed's) appearance the earth quaked (that is, Nature recognized the great prophet).

6. (Ms., p. 6.) God told Moses to tell the Israelites that a prophet should be sent to them from the descendants of their brother Ishmael, and that they should obey him.

7. (Ms., p. 6-7.) The true interpretation of Deut. 33<sup>d</sup> is that "the mountains of Paran" are the mountains of Mecca, and "the myriads of his holy ones" are the people of the Ka'ba. Moreover, Mohammed is the only prophet who has appeared from that region.

8. (Ms., p. 7.) Moses fought with the Amalekites and was routed. But he prayed to God, asking for help through the intercession of Mohammed, and God answered his prayer for Mohammed's sake.

9. (Ms., p. 7.) Joshua's army was routed, and he, like Moses, asked help of God through the intercession of Mohammed, whereupon God gave him the victory.

10. (Ms., p. 8.) The sons of Ishmael are hailed as blessed because a prophet shall be sent from among them who shall be supreme over all the nations. Gen. 16<sup>th</sup> is cited as a proof of this statement, and it is shown that it points only to Mohammed.

11. (Ms., p. 9.) A passage said to be from the Psalms announces that a prophet of mercy shall be raised up.

12. (Ms., p. 9.) Isa. 1<sup>st</sup> is made to announce a similar promise.

13. (Ibid.) Elijah goes into the land of the Hijâz and there announces that a child shall be born of the offspring of Ishmael. His name shall be associated with the name of God and shall be known throughout the civilized world. This one is no other than Mohammed.

14. (Ms., p. 10.) The prophet Micha announces to Ahab that God is going to send a prophet whose name shall be associated with that of God, and that through him unbelief will cease in the land.

15. (Ms., p. 11.) Manassch was an idolater. Being conquered in battle he was put inside one of his idols and was going to be roasted. His prayers to his other idols not being answered, he cried to God in the name of Mohammed. Then God saved him for the sake of Mohammed.

16. (Ms., p. 11-12.) Obadiah tells the Jews of the land of the Hijāz that God is going to send a prophet from the Arabs who will conquer and subdue them.

17. (Ms., p. 14.) In his sleep Jacob sees a mighty people ascending a heavenly ladder. God tells him they are the offspring of Ishmael.

18. (Ms., p. 15-16.) In the passage attributed to Ezekiel, but found in Isa. 42<sup>1</sup>, "my servant" is interpreted as Mohammed.

(Gen. 22<sup>2</sup> is made to read, "Take thy son whom *I* love," etc. Sa'id says it must be Ishmael, because Isaac was not yet born, and Abraham loved only Ishmael.

19. (Ms., p. 16-17.) In opposing Jesus one of the Jewish rabbis gave as his reason the fact that Moses told them in his law that the prophet to come in the last time should be of the offspring of Ishmael.

20. (Ms., p. 19.) The author says he has diligently studied the Four Gospels, but has found no mention of Mohammed in them. This is to him a proof that the Gospels have been corrupted.

21. (Ms., p. 20-21.) When Moses went up the mount to die, God showed him those who should come till the resurrection. When he saw Mohammed, the passage Deut. 33<sup>2</sup> was revealed, and the added interpretation given that the "fire" is the victorious sword of Mohammed, and the "light" is his law which guides aright.

22. (Ms., p. 23-24.) Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Daniel 2) is interpreted by Daniel. He tells the king that the angel who cut off the head of the image is the prophet who shall come and purify the earth from idolatry.

23. (Ms., p. 24.) Gen. 15<sup>9-10</sup> is thus interpreted: The beasts are the peoples who preceded Mohammed and have perished. The birds signify Ishmael and his offspring, and their long continuance as a united and powerful people.

24. (Ms., p. 25.) On coming to life, the dry bones of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 37<sup>1-10</sup>) testify that there is no God but Allah and that he has no partner.

25. (Ms., p. 26.) In the Torah Mohammed's name is **מֹחַד** **מֹחַד** (cf. argument No. 2); in the books of the prophets it is **יִשְׁמָעֵל** (Josiah 1). However they translate it, of the offspring

of Ishmael there is none greater than Mohammed. The name **יאשיהו** is one of the names of God and is applied only to Mohammed beside..

Sa'id not only establishes to his own satisfaction Mohammed's right to the prophetic office, but he also vigorously condemns the use of images and pictures in the churches. In his characteristic manner he shows the evil effects and dire consequences of such a practice. A short summary of his statements is instructive:

1. (Ms., p. 7.) The golden cross taken from the booty of the Amalekites was the cause of Joshua's triple defeat. The same statement is again made on p. 18.

2. (Ms., p. 13.) The children of Israel were commanded by God to have neither idol, crucifix nor image.

3. (Ms., p. 18.) The Christians are like the unbelieving kings of old, who made pictures and images and thus brought about the destruction of their kingdoms.

4. (Ms., *ibid.*) God took away Solomon's kingdom because of a single picture which was in his house.

5. (*ibid.*) The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, did not ordain pictures and crucifixes.

6. (Ms., p. 19.) God warned the Israelites, saying: "Cursed is he who makes a cross or an image; cursed is he who worships them or allows their use."

7. (Ms., p. 28.) The cause of the destruction of the first temple was the making of images and likenesses and the killing of the prophets. (According to Sa'id, the causes of the destruction of the second temple were the dispute over the essence of the Creator, his attributes and word, and the denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.)

8. (Ms., p. 29.) The philosophers laid the foundation for the worship of idols, and they made pictures and images. (For Sa'id's philosophy and ideas of philosophers, see the section below.)

9. (Ms., p. 35.) God laid waste the kingdom of the Israelites partly because of pictures and images used by them. And God promised the prophets that pictures and images should be removed.

10. (Ms., p. 36.) The history of the Israelites has been that when they made pictures and images they were defeated by

their enemies; but when they effaced them and abandoned their use they were victorious and prospered.

For philosophy and philosophers in general our author had great antipathy. To him a "philosopher" seems to be any learned man or religious leader outside the faith of Islam. Thus he twice stigmatises Jeroboam as a philosopher, and ascribes his evil deeds to that fact. (Ms., pp. 21, 26.) He asserts that the philosophers are ignorant of the truth of prophecy and of the high station of the prophets; that they deny the Creator and lay the foundation for the worship of idols; that they are enemies of God and the apostles, and that they make pictures and likenesses (Ms., pp. 28-29). In short, they are a source of great evil.

In criticism of Sa'id's own philosophy, it is sufficient to say that his knowledge of the subject was very superficial. He uses the current language of his time, but adds nothing in ideas or terminology. His confused statements and pointless arguments show that he was in no way superior to most of his contemporaries and that through it all he was moved by an intense prejudice against that "way."

An interesting feature of the manuscript is the author's transliteration of Hebrew passages into Arabic. As his quotations from the Hebrew are quite numerous, a fairly complete basis of comparison is afforded. The accompanying table shows his scheme of transliteration, which it will be observed is phonetic.

## Hebrew represented by Arabic

א	ا
ב, ב	ب
ג	ك (i. e. گ)
ד	غ
ה	و
ו	ז
ז	ח
ח	ע
ט	כ
י	כ
י	ל
י	מ

## Hebrew represented by Arabic

ז	ז
ח	ח
ט	ט
י	י
כ	כ
ל	ל
מ	מ
נ	נ

Hebrew represented by Arabic		Hebrew represented by Arabic	
נ	ن	ק	ف
ם	س	ך	ر
ע	ع	ש	س
פ	ب	שׁ	ش
ף	ف	ת	ت
צ	ص	תׁ	ث

In the case of some of the consonants which are distinguished by diacritical points (ش and س, ذ and د, خ and ح, ث and ت), it often seems probable, or certain, that we have not the original transliteration before us. Copyists have introduced numerous changes. Thus, in page 10, lines 1 f., the letter ذ appears three times where the author himself must have intended د. Frequently a Hebrew word is divided, part standing on one line and part on the next, or the false division occurs in the middle of the line, as in 4<sub>6ff.</sub>, 6<sub>6</sub>, 12<sub>10f.</sub>, 15<sub>13</sub>, 16<sub>1</sub>, 16<sub>7</sub>, 19<sub>14</sub>, and elsewhere. This, again, is no doubt to be laid to the charge of the copyists. Wherever the name יְהוָה occurs, it is of course אֲרֹנִי that is transliterated.

In the reproduction of the Hebrew vowel-sounds, of course the paucity of Arabic vowel-signs makes itself felt. َ, for example, has to do duty for ا, -, ِ, ِ, and in two cases apparently for ِ (כָּל=كَل, 8<sub>10</sub>; اَلْاِهِيْم=اَلْاِهِيْم, 22<sub>10</sub>). Moreover, the equivalents of the Hebrew vowels are not even given consistently (see, for example, 4<sub>6</sub> f.). Any table of equivalents would, therefore, have very little value. The way in which the vowel *o* is passed over (because of the lack of an exact equivalent) is especially noticeable. Thus אֶת=اَت (several occurrences); יָאז=يَاذ, 8<sub>10</sub>; עָז=عز, 17<sub>10</sub>, etc. But in 8<sub>10</sub>, 16<sub>1</sub>, בּוּ is transliterated by بُو, while in 15<sub>13</sub> it is (apparently) represented by ب alone. לָגוּי=لَغِي, 5<sub>2</sub>; לִכְיִימ=لِכِيْم, 16<sub>1</sub>. Notice also בארצ for בְּאֶרֶץ, 3<sub>10</sub>.

It is evident that Sa'id had no great learning. Of the history of the Jews and the narratives of the Old Testament he has only

a limited knowledge. He confuses the chronology of the Jewish kings and prophets, and often attributes the character and deeds of one person to another. Moreover, his Arabic is impure from a classical point of view. It has many vulgar expressions and grammatical errors and is not that of a careful scholar.

The manuscript here published is not the original, but a copy which appears to have been made some time in the 8th or 9th century of the Hijra, although the exact date is not indicated. It is written in the *neskhi* script and in an easily legible hand. Vowel points and diacritical marks are often lacking, but in obscure passages they are usually supplied. The copyist has sometimes left out words, and some of the grammatical errors are no doubt due to him. He seems to have had little if any knowledge of Hebrew. Sa'id's treatise forms a part of No. 700 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Yale University library. It is one of five essays transcribed in succession by the same hand, and bound together. Of these, this is the longest, consisting of 37 pages, beginning on fol. 286 of the manuscript. The written page measures  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cm.  $\times$  9 cm. The passages transliterated from the Hebrew are written in red ink.

Numerous extracts from this work have already been published by Professor Goldziher, of Budapest, in the *Revue des Études Juives*, xxx, 1 ff. These extracts are the following (the Roman numerals are the numbers of the sections in the Appendix to his article):

Ms., 5, 4—11;	Goldziher, App. vi.
“ 5, 12—6, 1;	“ “ vii.
“ 7, 3—8;	“ “ viii.
“ 9, 11—10, 8;	“ “ ix.
“ 15, 6;	“ “ x.
“ 16, 5—7;	“ “ xi.
“ 19, 2—5;	“ “ xii.
“ 19, 14;	“ “ xiii.
“ 25, 15—26, 2;	“ “ xiv.
“ 32, 9—35, 4;	“ “ i.
“ 35, 5—37, 9;	“ “ iii.
“ 37, 9—15;	“ “ iv.
“ 37 margin;	“ “ v.



In my translation the reader will note that I have omitted the formulas of blessing except in a few special instances. The Hebrew passages I have transliterated from the Arabic of the manuscript. The translation follows the original closely and at the same time endeavors to give a clear English rendering.

Finally, in regard to the emendations it must be remembered that where there is but one copy to work with the more difficult is the task of emendation and the greater the liability to mistake. Words and passages supplied by conjecture I have enclosed in brackets.

I desire to express my gratitude to Professor Torrey, of Yale University, for his personal interest and his valuable suggestions and criticisms, which have greatly aided me in the production of this dissertation. I would acknowledge also my indebtedness to Professor Goldziher, for the assistance I have derived from his most instructive article, to which I have made frequent reference.

#### ARABIC TEXT.

كتابُ مَسَالِكِ النَّظَرِ فِي نُبُوَّةِ سَيِّدِ الْبَشَرِ تَصْنِيفُ (Ms., p. 1)

العَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى سَعِيدُ بْنُ حَسَنٍ الْإِسْكَندَرَانِي رَضِيَ  
اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَأَرْضَاهُ وَجَعَلَ الْجَنَّةَ مَثْوَاهُ وَالنَّارَ مَثْوَى أَعْدَائِهِ لِمُحَمَّدٍ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبِّ تَعَالَى بِخَيْرِ آمِينَ. <sup>١</sup> الْكَفْمُ لِلَّهِ  
رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالتَّسْلِيمُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا <sup>٢</sup> مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ  
النَّبِيِّينَ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ وَأَنْصَارِهِ وَأَزْوَاجِهِ <sup>٣</sup> الطَّاهِرَاتِ أُمَّهَاتِ  
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَعَلَى التَّابِعِينَ لَهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ <sup>٤</sup> الْيَوْمَ الدِّينِ.

<sup>١</sup> For أَعْدَائِهِ, to rhyme with أَرْضَاهُ and مَثْوَاهُ.

نَبَدِي بِاللَّهِ مُسْتَعِينًا بِبَرَكَاتِ الْإِسْلَامِ<sup>٦</sup> فِي إِظْهَارِ نَبْوَةِ سَيِّدِ  
 الْأَنَامِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ<sup>٧</sup> الصَّادِقِ  
 الْأَمِينِ الَّذِي بَشَّرَتْ بِظَهْوِهِ أَنْبِيَاءُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ<sup>٨</sup> تَصْدِيقًا  
 لِقَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَمَا نُرْسِلُ الْمُرْسَلِينَ<sup>٩</sup> إِلَّا مُبَشِّرِينَ  
 وَمُنذِرِينَ وَقَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ<sup>(Ms., p. 2)</sup> مِيثَاقَ  
 النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا آتَيْنَاكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ ثُمَّ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مُصَدِّقٌ  
 لِمَا مَعَكُمْ لَتُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهِ وَلَتَنْصُرُنَّهُ قَالَ أَأَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَخَذْتُمْ عَلَيَّ<sup>١٠</sup> ذَلِكَُمْ  
 إِمْرِي قَالُوا أَقْرَرْنَا قَالَ فَاشْهَدُوا وَأَنَا مَعَكُمْ مِنَ الشَّاهِدِينَ  
 فَضَّلْ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ<sup>١١</sup> وَسَلَامُهُ بَعَثَهُمُ  
 اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى بِالْبَرَاهِمِينَ الرَّاضِحَةَ<sup>١٢</sup> وَالْحَاجَجَ الْقَاطِعَةَ  
 وَبَيَّنَّا وَصَرَّحُوا وَنَطَقُوا بِالْأَمْثَالِ تَقْرِيبًا<sup>١٣</sup> لِلْأَذْهَانِ فَلَمَّا قَصَّ اللَّهُ  
 سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى قِصَّةَ آدَمَ عَلَيْهِ<sup>١٤</sup> السَّلَامَ عَلَى مُوسَى فِي السَّفَرِ  
 الْأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ أَعْلَمَهُ بِأَنَّ آدَمَ<sup>١٥</sup> لَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ كَانَ  
 يَتَكَلَّمُ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِيِّ فَلَمَّا أُهْبِطَ بِهِ<sup>١٦</sup> نَسِيَ اللِّسَانَ الْعَرَبِيَّ  
 وَتَكَلَّمَ بِالسُّرْيَانِيِّ فَحَزَنَ حَزْنًا شَدِيدًا<sup>١٧</sup> عَلَيَّ فَقَدَهُ اللِّسَانَ  
 الْعَرَبِيَّ فَأَوْحَى اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ يَا آدَمُ لَا تَكُنْ<sup>١٨</sup> فِي هَذَا لِسَانِ أَهْلِ  
 الْجَنَّةِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ سَيَكُونُ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِكَ مَنْ يَتَكَلَّمُ<sup>١٩</sup> بِهِ وَيَكُونُوا مِنْ



اللَّهِ<sup>14</sup> حَقٌّ فَقَالَتْ لِابْرَهِيمَ أَخْرِجْ هَاجِرَ وَلَدَهَا عَنِّي فَقِيلَ  
 لِابْرَهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَن سَارَةٌ وَأَرْسَلَهَا إِلَى أَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ<sup>15</sup>  
 (Ms., p. 4) وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ خَاطَبَ إِبْرَهِيمَ قَائِلًا  
 بِاللِّسَانِ<sup>16</sup> الْعِبْرَانِيِّ<sup>17</sup> كَيْ دِي اسْحَقْ يَقَارِي لَحَا زَارِعَ تَفْسِيرِ  
 ذَلِكَ<sup>18</sup> إِنَّ اسْحَقَ سَيَكُونُ لَكَ مِنْهُ نَسْلٌ<sup>19</sup> وَأَمَّا إِسْمَاعِيلُ فَإِنِّي  
 بَارَكْتُهُ<sup>20</sup> وَكَثَّرْتُهُ وَعَظَّمْتُهُ وَجَعَلْتُ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ كُنُجُومَ السَّمَاءِ وَمِنْهُ  
 مُحَمَّدٌ<sup>21</sup> صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهَذِهِ الْآيَةُ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ

وَلِ<sup>22</sup> إِشْمَاعِيلَ شِمْعَتِيخَا هَنْنِي<sup>23</sup> بِيْرَاخْتِي اِثْ<sup>24</sup> وَهَفْرِيْتِي  
 اِثْ<sup>25</sup> وَهَرَبَاتِي اِثْ<sup>26</sup> بِمَازْ<sup>27</sup> شَرَحَ الْعُلَمَاءُ<sup>28</sup> السُّفْسَرُونَ لِللُّغَةِ  
 الْعِبْرَانِيَّةِ هَذِهِ اللَّفْظَتَيْنِ<sup>29</sup> الَّذِي<sup>30</sup> هِيَ مَوْدٌ<sup>31</sup> مَوْدٌ<sup>32</sup> مِنْهُمْ مَن  
 قَالَ أَحْمَدُ أَحْمَدُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَن قَالَ جِدًّا جِدًّا [وَمِنْهُمْ]<sup>33</sup> مَن  
 قَالَ عَظِيمًا عَظِيمًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ظَهَرَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ أَعْظَمُ

<sup>14</sup> Ms. بلسان.<sup>15</sup> Ms. نسلا.<sup>16</sup> Ms. وك.<sup>17</sup> Ms. هتني.<sup>18</sup> For Heb. אֵל.

<sup>19</sup> I. e. مَازْ? Cf. the transliteration just below. Notice also the way in which the preceding word is written in the Ms. (with the final form of م).

<sup>20</sup> Ms. اللفظتين.<sup>21</sup> For التي, as occasionally elsewhere in the sequel.<sup>22</sup> Ms. مَوْدٌ.

<sup>11</sup> مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. فَضَّلَ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ <sup>12</sup> عَلَي  
 نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَمَّا خَرَجْتُ هَاجِرٌ مُتَوَجِّهَةً إِلَى  
<sup>13</sup> أَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ وَحَصَلَ لَهَا الْعَطَشُ وَرَمَتْ الطِّفْلَ مِنْ <sup>14</sup> عَلَي  
 كَتَفِهَا مَكْتُوبٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ أَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهَا مَلَائِكَةً أَتْبَعُوا  
<sup>15</sup> الْعَيْنَ فَشَرِبَتْ وَسَقَتْ الطِّفْلَ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ جَلَّ جَلَالُهُ خَاطَبَهَا  
 (Ms., p. 5) قَائِلًا يَا هَاجِرُ قَوْمِي سَيِّئٌ أَنْتِ هُنَا وَهَاجِرَتِي  
 أَنْتِ <sup>3</sup> يَا ذِيحْ <sup>b</sup> بُو كِي لَعَى <sup>c</sup> كَاذِلْ أَسِيْمَاب <sup>d</sup> تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ  
<sup>3</sup> قَوْمِي أَحْمِلِي هَذَا الطِّفْلَ وَاحْتَفِظِي بِهِ فَإِنَّ مِنْهُ مَحْمُودًا <sup>e</sup>  
 وَذَرِيَّتَهُ <sup>4</sup> كَنْزُ جَوْمِ السَّمَاءِ فَضَّلَ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَي نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى  
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي السِّفْرِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ فِي قِصَّةِ يَعْقُوبَ  
<sup>6</sup> عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمَّا دَنَتْ وَفَاتَهُ جَمَعَ أَوْلَادَهُ وَقَالَ لَهُمْ أَتَقَرَّبُوا  
 إِلَيَّ أَقُولُ لَكُمْ مَا يَظْهَرُ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ فَلَمَّا اجْتَمَعُوا <sup>8</sup> قَالَ  
 لَهُمْ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ بَعْدِي قَالُوا نَعْبُدُ إِلَهَكَ وَالْإِلَهَ آبَائِكَ  
<sup>9</sup> إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ إِلَهًا وَاحِدًا وَلَمْ يُوَجِدْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ  
<sup>10</sup> أَنَّهُ ذَكَرَ شَيْءٌ مِمَّا وَعَدَ بِهِ بَلْ مَكْتُوبٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ أَنَّهُ دَعَا لَهُمْ  
<sup>11</sup> وَتَوَفَّى فَعَلِمَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ مَكَّوْا اسْمَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. حلا. <sup>b</sup> Ms. ياديع. <sup>c</sup> Ms. لعى. <sup>d</sup> Ms. اسيماب.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. محمد.

وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ هَذِهِ <sup>12</sup> الْآيَةِ فَصَّلَ وَمَا يَدَّلْ عَلِي نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ  
 عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ <sup>13</sup> فِي السَّفَرِ الرَّابِعِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ فِي قِصَّةِ بَلْعَامَ بْنِ  
 بَاعُورَاءَ قَائِلًا <sup>14</sup> أَنْظُرُوا كَبُوكِبًا قَدْ ظَهَرَ مِنْ آلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَعَصْدَهُ  
 سَبَطُ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ <sup>15</sup> وَلِظُهُورِهِ تَزَلَّزَلَتِ الْأَرْضُ وَمَنْ  
 عَلَيْهَا ..... مِنْ دَسَلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ إِلَّا مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى (Ms., p. 6)  
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَمَا تَزَلَّزَلَتِ إِلَّا لِظُهُورِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
<sup>3</sup> فَصَّلَ وَمَا يَدَّلْ عَلِي نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ <sup>8</sup> نَصَّ  
 صَرِيحٍ فِي السَّفَرِ الْخَامِسِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ كَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا  
 قُلْ <sup>4</sup> ابْنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ نَابِي <sup>5</sup> أَقِيمَ لَا هَامَ  
 مِقْرَابَ <sup>6</sup> أَحِي خَامَ مَبْنِي يَشْمَاعِلَ <sup>7</sup> تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ سَنُرْسِلُ  
<sup>6</sup> إِلَيْكُمْ نَبِيًّا مِنْ قَرَابَتِكُمْ مِنْ أَوْلَادِ أَخِيكُمْ إِسْمَاعِيلَ سَأَجْعَلُ  
 نَطْقِي <sup>7</sup> بِفِيهِ وَبِلِسَانِي الْعِبْرَانِيِّ وَسَمِّي دِبَارِي بَفِيؤا <sup>8</sup> بِلؤ  
 يَشْمَاعُؤُ سَأَجْعَلُ لَهُ نَطْقِي بِفِيهِ وَإِيَّاهُ اتَّبِعُوا <sup>9</sup> فَصَّلَ  
 وَمَا يَدَّلْ عَلِي نَبَوَّتِهِ وَعُمُومَ دَعْوَتِهِ <sup>10</sup> صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

<sup>a</sup> The copyist has here omitted some words.

<sup>b</sup> Ms. نَابِي.

<sup>c</sup> Ms. أَحِي.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. بِسْمَاعِل.

<sup>e</sup> So the Ms. But perhaps originally بَفِيؤا ايلو, i. e. <sup>11</sup> دَفِيؤا ايلو; see the translation and the note there.

وسلم نَصَّ صَرِيحٌ وبه خُتِمَتِ التَّوْرَةُ اذْوَني <sup>11</sup> مَسِينَايَ بِا  
 وَزَارَاحَ مَسَاعِيرِ هَفِيعٍ <sup>12</sup> مَا هَارَ بَارَانَ <sup>12</sup> وَاثَا مَا رَبِثَ <sup>13</sup> قَدْشَ  
 تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ جَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنْ سِينَا وَأَشُوفَ <sup>14</sup> مِنْ سَاعِيرِ وَاسْتَعْلَنَ  
 مِنْ جِبَالِ فَارَانَ وَظَهَرَ مِنْ رِبْوَاتِ <sup>15</sup> قَدْسِهِ عَنْ يَمِينِهِ نَوْرٌ  
 وَعَنْ شِمَالِهِ نَارٌ عَلَيْهِ تَجْتَمِعُ الْأُمَمُ <sup>16</sup> وَالْيَهُ تَجْتَمِعُ الشُّعُوبُ  
 وَاتَّفَقَ أَهْلُ اللُّغَةِ الْعِبْرَانِيَّةِ أَنَّ (Ms., p. 7) جِبَالِ فَارَانَ هِيَ  
 جِبَالُ مَكَّةَ وَرِبْوَاتِ قَدْسِهِ هُوَ [أَهْلُ] الْبَيْتِ الْحَرَامِ وَلَمْ <sup>17</sup> يَكُنْ ظَهَرَ  
 مِنْ هُنَاكَ إِلَّا مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَضَّلَ <sup>18</sup> وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ  
 عَلَي نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَهَا حَارَبَ مُوسَى الْعَمَالِقَةَ  
 [و] انْكَسَرَتْ <sup>19</sup> ابْنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ تَوَسَّلَ مُوسَى إِلَى اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى  
 مُسْتَشْفِعًا <sup>20</sup> بِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَائِلًا بِاللِّسَانِ <sup>21</sup>  
 الْعِبْرَانِيَّ زُحْرٍ لَاعِبِدَاخَا <sup>22</sup> لِابْرَاهَامَ وَلِإِسْمَاعِيلَ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ اذْكَرُ  
 عَهْدَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بِالَّذِي <sup>23</sup> وَعَدْتُهُ بِهِ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ أَنَّ قَنَصَرَ  
 جُيُوشَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَاسْتَجَابَ <sup>24</sup> اللَّهُ دُعَاءَهُ وَنَصَرَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
 عَلَي الْعَمَالِقَةِ بِبَرَكَاتِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَضَلَّ وَمِمَّا  
 يَدُلُّ عَلَي نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ يُوسَعَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

<sup>11</sup> Ms. هَفِيع.<sup>12</sup> Ms. مَارِث.<sup>13</sup> Ms. قَدْش.<sup>14</sup> Ms. بِلْسَانَ.<sup>15</sup> Ms. لَاعِبِدَاخ.

خليفة موسى لما فتح الشام وحارب <sup>11</sup> العمالقة انكسر<sup>a</sup> جيشه بسبب خيانتهم العهد وأخذ رجل من <sup>12</sup> جيش يوسع صليبا من ذهب من غنائم العمالقة فانكسر جيشه <sup>13</sup> ثلاث مرار بسبب الصليب الذي غل وإن يوسع نوّسل الي الله <sup>14</sup> تعالي مستشفعا بمحمد صلي الله عليه وسلم بأقتداءه باثار موسى عليه السلام فاستجاب الله دعاؤه ونصره وأوحى الله الي يوسع<sup>15</sup> (Ms., p. 8) عليه السلام إن بني اسرائيل خانوا عهدي بغلهم من الغنائم<sup>2</sup> فإن الغنائم كانت مكرمة عليهم فكشف يوسع خبر جيشه<sup>3</sup> فوجد عند رجل منهم صليبا من ذهب فقتله يوسع وصلبه وانتصروا<sup>4</sup> علي العمالقة فصل ومما يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء في زبور داود عليه السلام طوبى لكم يا بني اسمعيل<sup>5</sup> طوبى لكم سيبت منكم نبي تكون يده عالية علي كل الأمم<sup>6</sup> وكل الأمم تكنت يده وباللسان<sup>7</sup> العبراني في السفر الأول<sup>8</sup> من التوراة في قصة اسمعيل عليه السلام أن الله وعد إبراهيم<sup>9</sup> أن ولده اسمعيل

<sup>a</sup> Ms. انكسرت.<sup>b</sup> Ms. adds عليه.<sup>c</sup> Ms. الأمم, and similarly very often.<sup>d</sup> Ms. بلسان.



تكون يَدُهُ عَالِيَةً عَلَيَّ الْكُلِّ وهو قوله<sup>10</sup> "تعالى يا ذاك بأك" وياذ<sup>11</sup>  
 كال بو<sup>12</sup> "وعد بنا خذ<sup>13</sup> احو<sup>14</sup> يشكن<sup>15</sup> تفسير ذلك بالعربي يَدُهُ  
 عَلَيْهِ عَلَيَّ كَلِّ الْأُمَمِ وكَلِّ الْأُمَمِ تَحْتَ يَدِهِ وبجميع مَسَاكِينِ  
 إِخْوَتِهِ يَسْكُنُ وَمِنَ الْمَعْلُومِ<sup>16</sup> أَنَّ إِسْمَاعِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَكُنْ  
 ظَهَرَ لَهُ مُلْكٌ وَلَا عَلَتْ يَدُهُ عَلَيَّ إِخْوَتِهِ<sup>17</sup> وَلَا نَزَلَ إِلَى الشَّامِ  
 وَلَا سَكَنَ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
 وَأُمَّتُهُ هُمُ الَّذِينَ سَكَنُوا بِمَسَاكِينِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ بِمِصْرَ وَالشَّامِ وَهَذَا  
 (Ms., p. 9) بَرَهَانٌ قَطْعِيٌّ عَلَيَّ نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
فصل ومّا يدلّ علي نبوّته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء  
 فِي زَبُورِ دَاوُدَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ عَظَّمُوا<sup>18</sup> اللَّهَ كُلَّ الْأُمَمِ  
 وَوَحِّدُوا اللَّهَ يَا أَهْلَ الْأَرْضِ سَيُبْعَثُ لَكُمْ نَبِيٌّ الرَّحْمَةُ  
افصل ومّا يدلّ علي نبوّته صلي الله عليه وسلم ما جاء  
 فِي صُحُفِ شُعْبَا<sup>19</sup> عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى عَلَيَّ لِسَانَهُ  
 بِاللِّسَانِ<sup>20</sup> الْعِبْرَانِيَّ شَمِعُوا شَامَايِمَ وَهَذَا أَرْنِي أَرْضَ<sup>21</sup> تَفْسِيرُ  
 ذَلِكَ اسْمِعُوا يَا سَمَوَاتِ وَتَرِي<sup>22</sup> يَا أَرْضُ لِمَاذَا تَقْلُقِي سَيُبْعَثُ

<sup>10</sup> Ms. يكل. <sup>11</sup> Ms. وياذ. <sup>12</sup> Ms. يو. <sup>13</sup> Ms. حل.

<sup>14</sup> Ms. تسكن. <sup>15</sup> Ms. شعبًا. <sup>16</sup> Ms. وقري.

<sup>8</sup> عليك نبياً به تَرْحَمِي واعلم أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَ بعد موسى عليه  
<sup>9</sup> السلام أَرْبَعَةً وَعِشْرِينَ نَبِيًّا أَوْلَهُم يَوسَعُ وَأَخْرَهُم زَكْرِيَّا الَّذِي  
<sup>10</sup> نُشِرَ بِالْمِنْشَارِ وَكُلُّ نَبِيٍّ مِنْهُمْ لَهُ صَكِيفَةٌ بِالْعِبْرَانِيَّ فِيهَا  
 مَكْتُوبٌ <sup>11</sup> خَبْرُ مَا مَضَى وَمَا يَأْتِي عَنْ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَدَّ فَضْلٌ  
 وَمِمَّا <sup>12</sup> يَدُلُّ عَلَى نَبَوْتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا جَاءَ فِي صُحُفِ  
 إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمَّا <sup>13</sup> خَرَجَ فِي سِيَاحَتِهِ وَصَكِبَتْهُ سَبْعُونَ  
 رَجُلًا فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْعَرَبَ <sup>14</sup> بِأَرْضِ الْحِجَازِ قَالَ لِمَنْ مَعَهُ انْظُرُوا  
 هَؤُلَاءِ الَّذِينَ يَمْلِكُونَ حُصُونَكُمْ <sup>15</sup> الْعَظِيمَةَ فَقَالُوا يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ مَا  
 الَّذِي يَكُونُ مَعْبُودَهُمْ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ (Ms., p. 10)

بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيَّ يَاسِيمُو لَادْنَاي كَابَد <sup>2</sup> وَتَهْلَاتْ<sup>a</sup> بَايِمِ يَكِيد<sup>b</sup>  
 تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ بِالْعَرَبِيِّ "يُوجِدُوا <sup>3</sup> اللَّهَ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى فَوْقَ كُلِّ  
 مَنِيرٍ عَالٍ فَقَالُوا لَهُ تَبَاعُهُ <sup>4</sup> يَا نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ مَنْ يَدْلَهُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ  
 فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ <sup>5</sup> بِالْعِبْرَانِيَّ بَانَ نَوْلَدُ<sup>d</sup> لِبْنِ يَشْمَاعِيلَ  
 يُوشِيَاهُو <sup>6</sup> شَمُو تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ بِالْعَرَبِيِّ وَلَدُ يُولَدُ مِنْ نَسْلِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. (והלה) وتعلات.

<sup>b</sup> For יָדִיד. The Ms. has נ for ד three times in this transliterated passage. See the introduction.

<sup>c</sup> Ms. بالعبراني.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. تولو.

إِسْمَاعِيلُ <sup>٧</sup> اِسْمُهُ مَقْرُونٌ بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ وَحَيْثُ يُذَكَّرُ اِسْمُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى  
يُذَكَّرُ اِسْمُهُ وَلَمْ <sup>٨</sup> يَكُنْ ذَلِكَ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
فصل وَمِمَّا <sup>٩</sup> يَدُلُّ عَلَى نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنْ  
مُلُوكِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُسَمِّي أَحَات <sup>١٠</sup> وَكَانَ جَبَّارًا وَكَانَ يَقْتُلُ  
الْأَنْبِيَاءَ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ فَكَفَرَ بِآلِهِ مُوسَى <sup>١١</sup> وَصَنَعَ الْأَصْنَامَ وَعَبَدَهَا  
وَنَصَّبَ مَذْبَحًا وَقَرَّبَ عَلَيْهِ قَرَابِينَ لِلْأَصْنَامِ [فَبَعَثَ اللَّهُ] <sup>١٢</sup>  
<sup>١٣</sup> عَلَيْهِ نَبِيًّا يُسَمِّي مِيخَا <sup>١٤</sup> وَنَادَى بِصَوْتٍ عَالٍ يَا مَذْبُحُ يَا مَذْبُحُ  
قَالَ <sup>١٥</sup> اللَّهُ لَكَ نَبِيًّا يَبْعَثُهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى يُوشِيَاهُو شَمُو <sup>١٦</sup> تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ  
اِسْمُهُ مَقْرُونٌ بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي اِسْمِهِ يَزَالُ الْكُفْرُ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ  
<sup>١٧</sup> وَتُصَدِّقُ كَلَامِي تَنْشَقُّ يَا مَذْبُحُ فَلَمْ يُتِمَّ النَّبِيُّ الْكَلَامَ إِلَّا  
وَالْمَذْبُحُ (Ms., p. 11) اِنْشَقَّ وَخَرَجَ رَمَادُهُ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ وَأَرَادَ  
الْمَلِكُ قَتْلَ النَّبِيِّ <sup>١٨</sup> فَيَبْسُتْ يَدُهُ فصل وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَى نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّى  
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ مَلِكًا مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُقَالُ لَهُ مَنْشَا  
وَكَانَ شَعِيًّا <sup>١٩</sup> النَّبِيُّ جَدُّهُ وَأَنَّ مَنْشَا كَفَرَ وَعَبَدَ الْأَصْنَامَ وَأَنَّهُ خَرَجَ  
لِلْمُحَارَبَةِ مَلِكًا وَأَنَّ <sup>٢٠</sup> ذَلِكَ الْمَلِكَ ائْتَصَرَ عَلَى مَنْشَا وَوَجَدَ الْمَلِكُ

<sup>٧</sup> The copyist seems to have omitted some words such as are supplied in the brackets.

<sup>١٤</sup> Ms. مِيخَا.

<sup>١٩</sup> Ms. سَعِيًّا.

عند منشأ صنمًا من نحاسٍ "مَجُوفٍ كان يعبدُهُ وَأَنَّ الملكَ  
أَخَذَ منشأ وجَعَلَهُ في جوفِ الصنمِ وَأَطْلَقَ نَكَتَهُ النيرانَ  
فَجَعَلَ منشأ يستغيثُ بِسائرِ الأصنامِ فلم يُغِيثُوهُ فَلَمَّا وصلتْ  
النارُ الي قلبه توَسَّلَ الي اللّهِ سُبُكَّانَهُ وتعالى مُستشفعًا  
"بِمُحَمَّدٍ صلي اللّهُ عليه وسلم أَقْتَدَأَ بِآثَارِ جَدِّهِ شَعْبِيَا عَلَيْهِ  
السَّلَام فَأَجَارَهُ <sup>10</sup>اللّهُ وَأَنْجَدَهُ بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَخَلَصَهُ مِنَ الصنمِ  
وَنَصَرَهُ عَلَي عَدُوِّهِ <sup>11</sup>بِبَرَكَاتِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلي اللّهُ عليه وسلم وَأَعَادَهُ  
اللّهُ الي مُلْكِهِ وَتَابَ تَوْبَةً <sup>12</sup>عَظِيمَةً فَصَلَّ وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلَي نَبَوَّتِهِ  
صلي اللّهُ عليه وسلم <sup>13</sup>أَنَّ نَبِيًّا مِنْ أَنْبِيَاءِ بني إِسْرَائِيلَ يُسَمَّى  
عُوبْدِيَاهُو <sup>14</sup>تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ عَبْدُ اللّهِ وَأَنَّهُ خَرَجَ فِي سِيَاخَتِهِ فَوَجَدَ  
اليهودَ سَاكِنِينَ <sup>15</sup>بَارِضِ الْحِجَازِ وَأَنَّهُمْ أَضَافُوهُ فَبَكَى بُكَاءً  
شَدِيدًا فَقَالُوا لَهُ مَا الَّذِي (Ms., p. 12) يُبْكِيكَ يَا نَبِيَّ اللّهِ فَقَالَ  
لَهُمْ نَبِيًّا بَعَثَهُ اللّهُ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ تَغْضُدُهُ <sup>16</sup>الْمَلَائِكَةُ يُخْرِبُ دِيَارَكُمْ  
وَيَسِيِّي حَرْبَكُمْ وَيُوتِمُ أَبْنَاءَكُمْ فَطَلَبُوا <sup>17</sup>اليهودَ قَتَلَهُ فَخَرَجَ مِنْهُمْ  
هَارِبًا فَصَلَّ أَعْلَمُ <sup>18</sup>أَنَّهُ لَمَّا انشَقَّ الْبَحْرُ لِمُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
وَعَرِقَ فِرْعَوْنُ وَجُنُودُهُ <sup>19</sup>وَطَلَعَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ مِنَ الْجَانِبِ الْآخَرِ

<sup>10</sup> Written with د in the Ms.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ<sup>١٠</sup> تَجَلَّى لِمُوسَى مِنْ جَانِبِ الطُّورِ قَائِلًا يَا  
 مُوسَى قُلْ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يَغْسِلُونَ<sup>١١</sup> أَثْرَابَهُمْ وَيُطَهِّرُونَ أَبْدَانَهُمْ  
 وَيَعْتَرِلُونَ نِسَاءَهُمْ<sup>١٢</sup> ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ فَإِنِّي أَتَجَلَّى لَهُمْ فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي  
 الْيَوْمِ الثَّالِثِ عِنْدَ الصُّبْحِ وَإِذَا الْأَرْضُ قَدْ اهْتَزَّتْ وَالْجِبَالُ  
 انْدَكَّتْ<sup>١٣</sup> وَتَجَلَّى اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى قَائِلًا بِلِسَانِي الْعِبْرَانِيِّ  
 أَنْ<sup>١٤</sup> خِي<sup>١٥</sup> اذْنَانِي الْهَآخَا اِشَارَ هَصِيْتِي خَا مَا<sup>١٦</sup> اَرْضَ مِصْرَايِمَ  
 تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّا اللَّهُ إِلَهُكَ الَّذِي أَخْرَجْتُكَ مِنْ<sup>١٧</sup> مِصْرَ لَا تَعْبُدْ  
 إِلَهًا غَيْرِي فَإِنِّي غَيْرُ<sup>١٨</sup> وَإِنَّ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ (Ms., p. 13) مَاثُوا  
 بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ ثُمَّ أَحْيَاهُمُ اللَّهُ فَقَالُوا اسْمِعْ أَنْتَ يَا مُوسَى<sup>١٩</sup> كَلَامَ اللَّهِ  
 وَقُلْ لَنَا فَإِنَّا لَا نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسْمَعَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ فَمُوتَ<sup>٢٠</sup> وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ  
 سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَاهَدَهُمْ سِتَّةَ<sup>٢١</sup> وَثَلَاثِينَ عَهْدًا عَلَيَّ<sup>٢٢</sup> إِتْبَاعِ<sup>٢٣</sup> سِتَّةَ  
 إِبْرَاهِيمَ جَدِّهِمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَتَّخِذُوا صَنَمًا وَلَا صَلِيبًا  
 وَلَا صُورَةً<sup>٢٤</sup> وَإِنَّهُمْ قَبِلُوا الْعَهْدَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ وَإِنَّ الْأَرْضَ اسْتَقَرَّتْ  
 وَارْتَفَعَ عَنْهُمْ الْجَبَلُ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَمَرَ<sup>٢٥</sup> مُوسَى أَنْ  
 يَقُولَ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنْ يَرْجِعُوا إِلَى أَهْلِهِمْ وَأَمَرَ<sup>٢٦</sup> مُوسَى أَنْ يَنْتَقِرَ  
 إِلَيْهِ وَأَقَامَ مُوسَى فِي الْجَبَلِ أَرْبَعِينَ<sup>٢٧</sup> يَوْمًا<sup>٢٨</sup> وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَلْقَى الْأَلْوَاحَ

<sup>١٠</sup> Note how Ms. divides the Hebrew word אֲרָבָה . Ms. حى .

<sup>١١</sup> Ms. اربعون .

وكان في اللوح الأول مكتوب<sup>10</sup> أنا الله ربك وفي الثاني لا تعبد  
إلهًا غيبي وفيهم<sup>11</sup> مكيوب<sup>12</sup> باقي العشر كلمات وفي التوراة مكتوب  
أن الألواح<sup>13</sup> صنع<sup>14</sup> الله والكتاب كتاب<sup>15</sup> الله فلما نزل موسى  
والألواح<sup>16</sup> علي يده فوجد بني إسرائيل قد عبدوا عجلاً من  
ذهب فأتني الألواح<sup>17</sup> (Ms., p. 14) وأنشقت الأرض وابتلعنهم  
وقتل موسى كل من عبد العجل من بني إسرائيل فصل ومما  
يدل علي نبوته صلي الله عليه وسلم أن يعقوب عليه السلام  
لما خرج هارباً من أخيه العيص<sup>18</sup> رأي<sup>19</sup> في منامه سلماً قد نصب  
من الأرض الي السماء وله خمس درجات<sup>20</sup> ورأي في منامه أمة  
عظيمة صاعدة في تلك الدرج والملائكة يعضدونهم وأبواب  
السماء مفتوحة فتجلى له ربه قايلاً يا يعقوب<sup>21</sup> لا تخف أنا  
معك اسمع وأري<sup>22</sup> تمن<sup>23</sup> يا يعقوب فقال يا رب<sup>24</sup> من أولائك<sup>25</sup>  
الصاعدون في تلك الدرج فقال الله له هم ذرية إسماعيل فقال  
يا رب بماذا وصلوا إليك فقال الله له يخمس صلوات  
أقرضتهم<sup>26</sup> عليهم في اليوم واللييلة فقبلوهن وعملوا بهن  
فلما استيقظ<sup>27</sup> يعقوب من منامه فرض علي ذريته الخمس

<sup>a</sup> Ms. sic.<sup>b</sup> Ms. تمنني.<sup>c</sup> Ms. occurs twice.<sup>d</sup> Ms. اوليك.

صَلَوَاتٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنِ اللَّهُ سَبْكَانَهُ<sup>12</sup> وَنَعَالِي قَرَضَ عَلِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
 صَلَاةً فِي التَّوْرَةِ إِلَّا قَرَابِينَ يُقَرَّبُونَهَا<sup>13</sup> وَهَذِهِ الْقِصَّةُ فِي السَّفَرِ الْأَوَّلِ  
 مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ بَعْدَ قِصَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ (Ms., p. 15)  
 وَمَا زَالَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ وَعُلَمَاءُهُمْ يُصَلُّونَ الصَّلَوَاتِ الْخَمْسَ  
 إِتْبَاعًا<sup>a</sup> لِسُنَّةِ جَدِّهِمْ يَعْقُوبَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَلَمْ تَزَلْ أَنْبِيَاءُ بَنِي  
 إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ<sup>b</sup> وَالسَّلَامُ يُبَشِّرُونَ بِظُهُورِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلِي  
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَيُقَسِّمُونَ بِكَيَاتِهِ<sup>c</sup> وَيَتَمَنُّونَ<sup>d</sup> أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي زَمَانِهِ  
 وَلَمَّا تَكْشَفْ لَهُمُ الْمَغِيبَاتُ يَرَوْنَ<sup>e</sup> أُمَّتَهُ<sup>f</sup> مُصْطَفَيْنَ فِي الصَّلَاةِ  
 كَصُفُوفِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَقَدْ ضَرَبَ سُمُوبِلُ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ<sup>g</sup> لِهَذَا  
 مَثَلًا قَائِلًا وَفَارًا وَاذْبِ تَرَعًا<sup>h</sup> وَنَامَارَ عَمَّ تَكْذِي يَرْبَاصَ تَفْسِيرِ  
 ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْأَسَدَ وَالذَّنْبَ<sup>i</sup> يَجْتَمِعَانِ عَلَيَّ<sup>j</sup> مَعْلَفٍ وَاحِدٍ وَالنِّمْرَ  
 وَالْجَدْيَ يَجْتَمِعَانِ فِي مَكَانٍ وَاحِدٍ وَمَعْنَى ذَلِكَ<sup>k</sup> أَنَّ الْمَلِكَ  
 وَالْفَقِيرَ يَسْتَوِيَانِ فِي صُفُوفِ الصَّلَوَاتِ وَإِنَّ عُلَمَاءَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
<sup>10</sup> وَأَنْبِيَاءَهُمْ رَتَّبُوا لَهُمْ فِي صَلَوَاتِهِمْ<sup>l</sup> يَتَوَسَّلُونَ فِيهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى

<sup>a</sup> Ms. إِتْبَاع.<sup>b</sup> Ms. يَتَمَنُّونَ.<sup>c</sup> Ms. يَرَوْنَ.<sup>d</sup> Ms. sic (originally تَرَعَانَا?).<sup>e</sup> Ms. وَالذَّنْبَ, as usual.<sup>f</sup> Ms. has فَصَّلَ after صَلَوَاتِهِمْ.

بِمُحَمَّدٍ <sup>11</sup>صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَيَتَمَنُّونَ <sup>12</sup>أَنْ يَكُونُوا فِي رَمَازِهِ  
وَيَجْرُوا أَيَّامَهُ فَصل <sup>12</sup>وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نَبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّي اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
مَا جَاءَ فِي صُكْفِ حَزْقِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَالَ <sup>13</sup>اللّٰهُ عَلَيَّ لِسَانِهِ  
بِاللِّسَانِ الْعِبْرَانِيِّ هُنَّ <sup>14</sup>عَبْدِي " اِثْ مَكْتِثْ " (Ms., p. 16)  
بِحِكْمِي رَاضٍ <sup>15</sup>ثَا نَفْشِي عَمُو نَنْتِي " رُوحِي بُو مَشْبَاطُ <sup>16</sup>لَكِيْمِمْ يَوْصِي  
<sup>17</sup>تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ إِنَّ عَبْدِي الْمُحْتَبِيَّ عِنْدِي ابْنٌ <sup>18</sup>حَبِيْبِي اخْتَرْتُهُ  
وَأَرْسَلْتُهُ <sup>19</sup>إِلَى الْأُمَمِ بِأَحْكَامٍ صَادِقَةٍ وَأَمَّا قَوْلُهُ عَبْدِي فَقَدْ خُوطِبَ  
<sup>20</sup>مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّي اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِالْعُبُودِيَّةِ وَأَمَّا قَوْلُهُ ابْنِ حَبِيْبِي  
فَإِنَّ اللّٰهَ <sup>21</sup>سُبْحَانَهُ سَمَّى إِبْرَاهِيْمَ حَبِيْبًا فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَإِسْمَاعِيْلَ سَيِّدًا  
اللّٰهُ حَبِيْبًا وَإِنَّ <sup>22</sup>سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى خَاطِبَ إِبْرَاهِيْمَ قَائِلًا  
بِاللِّسَانِ <sup>23</sup>الْعِبْرَانِيِّ قَاتَحٌ اِثْ بَنَخَالُ اِثْ يَكْحِيْدُ خَا اِشَارُ اَهَابُ  
تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ <sup>24</sup>خَذْ ابْنَكَ وَحِيْدَكَ الَّذِي أَحْبَبْتُهُ وَقَرَّبْتُهُ <sup>25</sup>إِلَى قُرْبَانًا  
وَهَذِهِ الْآيَةُ <sup>26</sup>تَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ أَنَّ الذَّبِيْحَ هُوَ إِسْمَاعِيْلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ  
ذَوِي التَّوْرَةِ لِأَنَّ مَا كَانَ <sup>27</sup>لِإِبْرَاهِيْمَ وَحِيْدًا إِلَّا إِسْمَاعِيْلُ فَإِنَّ بَعْدَ

<sup>11</sup> Ms. يَتَمَنُّوْا.<sup>12</sup> Ms. هُنَّ.<sup>13</sup> Ms. عَيْدِي.<sup>14</sup> For Hebrew אֲבִיבִי (originally اَتَحَبُّ).<sup>15</sup> Ms. sic.<sup>16</sup> Ms. مَشَاطُ.<sup>17</sup> Ms. الْمُحْتَبِيَّ.<sup>18</sup> Ms. ابْنِ.<sup>19</sup> Ms. بِلِسَانِ.<sup>20</sup> Ms. اِثْبَنَ خَا.<sup>21</sup> Ms. وَقَرَّبْتُهُ.



هذه القصة بِشْرُهُ<sup>11</sup> الملائكة بِاسْحَقَ عليه السلام وما كان  
 إِبْرَاهِيمَ عليه السلام يُحِبُّ إِلَّا إِسْمَاعِيلَ<sup>12</sup> فصل ومَّا يَدُلُّ علي  
 نبوّته صلي الله عليه وسلم لَمَّا<sup>13</sup> بُعِثَ الْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ  
 عليه السلام وكان مَبْعُوثُهُ في البيت<sup>14</sup> الثاني فَإِنَّ الْبَيْتَ الْأَوَّلَ هُوَ  
 الْبَيْتُ الْمُقَدَّسُ الَّذِي بَنَاهُ سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ عَلَيْهِمَا الصَّلَاةُ  
 وَالسَّلَامُ أَخْرَبَهُ بُخْتَنْصَرُ وَانْقَطَعَتِ النَّبُوَّةُ (Ms., p. 17) عند  
 خَرَابِ الْبَيْتِ الْأَوَّلِ وَبَقِيَ خَرَابًا<sup>15</sup> سَبْعِينَ سَنَةً وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ تَعَمَّرَهُ  
 مَلِكٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ كُورْشُ فَبَقِيَ بَعْدَ عِمَارَتِهِ أَرْبَعُ مِائَةٍ سَنَةٍ وَثَمَانِينَ<sup>16</sup>  
 سَنَةً عَامَرًا وَفِيهِ ظَهَرَ الْمَسِيحُ عِيسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ  
 الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ<sup>17</sup> وَكَانَ فِي زَمَانِ الْحُكْمَاءِ وَالْفَلَاسِفَةِ فَأَبْرَأَ الْأَكْمَةَ  
 وَالْأَبْرَصَ وَأَحْيَى الْمَوْتَى بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَجَعَلَ مِنَ الطِّينِ كَهَيْئَةِ  
 الطَّيْرِ فَعَقَدُوا لَهُ مَجْلِسًا<sup>18</sup> وَاجْتَمَعَتْ إِلَيْهِ عُلَمَاءُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
 فَنَهَضَ إِلَيْهِ عَالِمٌ مِنْهُمْ يُقَالُ لَهُ سَمْعُونُ<sup>19</sup> بَلَقِيْشَ وَقَالَ لَا تُؤْمِنُ  
 بِكَ وَلَا نُسَلِّمُ إِلَيْكَ فِيمَا أَدْعَيْتَهُ وَلَا فِيمَا<sup>20</sup> أَتَيْتَ بِهِ لِأَنَّ مُوسَى  
 عليه السلام أَخْبَرَنَا فِي شَرِيعَتِهِ عَنِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ<sup>21</sup> أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ  
 الْمَبْعُوثَ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ هُوَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ وَأَنْتَ مِنْ بَنِي

<sup>a</sup> Ms. خراب.

<sup>b</sup> Ms. وثمانون.

<sup>10</sup>إسرائيل وقوله تعالى في التوراة ولو قام نابي عذ<sup>11</sup> بيسراييل  
 كمثا تفسير ذلك لا يقوم في بني إسرائيل<sup>12</sup> مثل موسى وأفتوا<sup>13</sup>  
 بقتل عيسى عليه السلام وقتلوه بزعمهم وبزعم<sup>14</sup> النصاري  
 وكفروا به وكفر النصاري بالمسيح هو أشد من كفر اليهود  
<sup>14</sup>لأنهم يعتقدون أن الكف الذي سمر بالمسمار به خلقت  
 السموات<sup>15</sup> والأرض ولا يكون أشد [من] هذا من كفر وصورة في  
 كنائسهم مصلوبًا (Ms., p. 18) مسميًا وصبيان اليهود يرحمونه  
 بالحجارة فصل<sup>3</sup> أعلم أن الملة النصرانية لم تكن أتبع شيئا  
 من سُنن المسيح عليه السلام ولا من شريعته لكن أتبعوا  
 سُنن الملوك الذين كفروا من بني إسرائيل الذين نقضوا  
 عهد الله وصوروا لهم الصور<sup>5</sup> والتماثيل في البيع الذي كان  
 بسببها خراب ملك بني إسرائيل<sup>6</sup> فإن يسبب صورة واحدة  
 صورت في بيت سليمان بن داود ولم يشعر بها نزع الله الملك  
 منه وبسبب صليب واحد انكسر<sup>8</sup> جيش يوشع خليفة موسى  
 ثلاث مرار ولم يكن المسيح عليه السلام<sup>9</sup> يُشرع لهم عمل  
 صور ولا الصلبان ونقلوا عن المسيح في أناجيلهم<sup>10</sup> المنسوبة

\* Ms. واقترو.

إِلَى مَتَّى وَلُوقَا وَمَرْفُسَ وَيُوحَنَّا [أَنَّهُ] أَحَلَّ لَهُمُ الْمَيْتَةَ<sup>11</sup> وَالْدَّمَ  
وَلَحَمَ الْخَنزِيرِ وَحَاشَا الْمَسِيحَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ فَإِنَّهُ قَالَ مَا<sup>12</sup> جِئْتُ  
مُطْبِلًا لَشَرِيعَةِ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَلْ جِئْتُ<sup>13</sup> أَكْمِلُهَا وَشَرِيعَةُ  
مُوسَى حَرَمَتْ الْمَيْتَةَ وَالْدَّمَ وَلَحَمَ الْخَنزِيرِ وَنَقَلُوا<sup>14</sup> مِنْ الْمَسِيحِ  
أَيْضًا فِي أَنَاجِيلِهِمْ أَنَّهُ حَرَّمَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْخِتَانِ وَالْخِتَانُ هُوَ<sup>15</sup> سُنَّةُ  
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَهُوَ سُنَّةُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَهُوَ مَقْرُوضٌ عَلَى بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
(Ms., p. 19) فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَذَلِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَيَّ تَغْيِيرِهِمُ الْأَنْجِيلَ الَّذِي  
جَاءَ بِهِ<sup>2</sup> عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَصَلِّ اعْلَمْ وَفَقَّكَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَنِّي  
<sup>3</sup> وَقَفْتُ عَلَيَّ الْأَنْجِيلَ الْأَرْبَعَةَ وَكَرَّرْتُهُمْ فَلَمْ أَجِدْ فِيهِمْ ذِكْرَ مُحَمَّدٍ  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَصْلًا كَمَا هُوَ مَذْكُورٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَصُحُفِ  
الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَذَلِكَ<sup>6</sup> دَلِيلٌ عَلَيَّ تَغْيِيرِهِمُ الْأَنْجِيلَ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ  
عِيسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَصَلِّ<sup>7</sup> واعْلَمْ أَنَّ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَقَامَ فِي  
الْبَيْتِ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً<sup>7</sup> وَفِي سَنَةِ تِسْعِ وَثَلَاثِينَ لَخْرُوجِهِمْ مِنْ مِصْرَ  
كَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا وَأَمَرَهُ<sup>8</sup> أَنْ يَجْمَعَ مِنْ شِيُوخِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ  
سَبْعِينَ رَجُلًا وَيَطْلُعَ بِهِمُ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ<sup>9</sup> وَفَعَلَ مُوسَى ذَلِكَ وَجَمَعَ  
مُوسَى نُقَبَاءَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَرُؤُسَ أَسْبَاطِهِمْ<sup>10</sup> وَطَلَعَ بِهِمُ إِلَى جَبَلٍ  
آخَرٍ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى تَجَلَّى لِمُوسَى تَجَلِّيًّا عَظِيمًا

<sup>11</sup> مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ وَكَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ زَلَزُلٌ وَبُرُوفٌ وَرُعُودٌ وَخُسُفٌ <sup>12</sup> وَخَوْفٌ عَظِيمٌ وَارْتَجَّتْ <sup>13</sup> الْأُمَمُ فِي سَائِرِ الْأَقَاتِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى كَلَّمَ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا قَائِلًا قُلْ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ ارْزُقُوا هَاشِيشَ أَشَارٍ <sup>14</sup> يَعْسَا بِاسِلَ وَمَسِّي خَا تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ <sup>15</sup> مَلْعُونٌ مَنْ يَصْنَعُ صَلِيبًا أَوْ صُورَةً مَلْعُونٌ مَنْ يَعْبُدُهُمْ مَلْعُونٌ (Ms., p. 20) مَنْ خَلَا ذَلِكَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى يُخَاطِبُ مُوسَى بِذَلِكَ <sup>2</sup> وَجَمِيعُ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يُؤْمِنُونَ عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ وَأَقَامَ مُوسَى فِي الْجَبَلِ <sup>3</sup> أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا وَنَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْأَلْوَاحُ الَّتِي أَلْقَاهَا وَفِيهِمْ مَكْتُوبٌ <sup>4</sup> الْعَشْرُ كَلِمَاتٍ فَلَمَّا نَزَلَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَالْأَلْوَاحُ عَلَيَّ يَدِهِ لَمْ <sup>5</sup> يَطُقْ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَيْهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَلْبَسَ بُرْفَعًا وَيَضَعَهُ <sup>6</sup> الْأَلْوَاحُ فِي تَابُوتِ السَّكِينَةِ وَوَضَعَ مَعَهُمْ نُسْخَةً مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ بِخَطِّ <sup>7</sup> يَدِهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَطْلُعَ إِلَى الْجَبَلِ لَوَفَاتِهِ فَصَلَّ <sup>8</sup> وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَيَّ نُبُوتِهِ صَلَّيَّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَمَّا طَلَعَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ <sup>9</sup> لِلْوَفَاةِ طَلَبَ مِنَ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَنْ يُرِيَهُ الْأُمَمَ الَّتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ <sup>10</sup> فَلَمَّا رَأَى مُحَمَّدًا صَلَّيَّ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. وارتجت.<sup>b</sup> Ms. هاشيس اشا.<sup>c</sup> Note the way this word (وَمَسِّي) is written.<sup>d</sup> Ms. أحدًا.<sup>e</sup> Ms. رآ.

الله عليه وسلم وَأَمَّتُهُ نُزِلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ<sup>11</sup> فِي التَّوْرَةِ إِذْ نَافِي مَسِينَايَ  
 بِأَوْرَاحَ مَسَاعِيرِ هَفْبَعِ<sup>12</sup> مِيهَارَ بَارَانَ وَأَتِ<sup>13</sup> مَارِبِيثَ قَذَشَ<sup>14</sup>  
 تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ جَاءَ<sup>15</sup> اللَّهُ مِنْ سِينَا وَأَشْرَقَ مِنْ سَاعِيرِ وَاسْتَعْلَنَ<sup>16</sup>  
 مِنْ جِبَالِ فَارَانَ وَظَهَرَ<sup>17</sup> مِنْ رَبَوَاتٍ قَدْسِهِ عَنْ يَمِينِهِ نَوْرٌ وَعَنْ  
 شِمَالِهِ نَارٌ أَلْيَهُ تَجْتَمِعُ<sup>18</sup> الْأُمَمُ وَعَلَيْهِ تَجْتَمِعُ الشُّعُوبُ فَإِنَّ عُلَمَاءَ  
 بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ الشَّارِحِينَ لِلتَّوْرَةِ (Ms., p. 27) شَرَحُوا ذَلِكَ وَفَسَّرُوهُ  
 أَنَّ النَّارَ هِيَ سَيْفُ مُحَمَّدٍ الْقَاهِرِ وَالنَّوْرُ هِيَ شَرِيعَتُهُ الْهَادِيَةُ  
 صَلَّيَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَصَلَّ قَوْلُهُ<sup>19</sup> تَعَالَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَإِذْ قَالَ  
 مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ يَا قَوْمِ أَدْكُرُوا<sup>20</sup> نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَعَلَ فِيكُمْ  
 أَنْبِيَاءَ وَجَعَلَكُمْ مُلُوكًا وَآثَاكُمْ مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْعَالَمِينَ يَا  
 قَوْمِ ادْخُلُوا الْأَرْضَ الْمُقَدَّسَةَ<sup>21</sup> الَّتِي كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَلَا تَرْتَدُّوا عَلَى  
 أَدْبَارِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ<sup>22</sup> وَقَدْ دَخَلُوا بَنُو إِسْرَءِيلَ إِلَى الشَّامِ  
 وَكَانَتْ مُلُوكُهُمُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ<sup>23</sup> يَزُشَعُ وَدَاوُدُ وَسُلَيْمَانُ وَابْنُ سُلَيْمَانَ فِي  
 إِمَامِهِ تَفَرَّقَ مُلْكُ<sup>24</sup> بَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ وَكَفَرُوا وَقَتَلُوا الْأَنْبِيَاءَ وَفَقَضُوا  
 عَنْهُمْ<sup>25</sup> اللَّهَ وَكَانَ<sup>26</sup> سَبَبُ كُفْرِهِمْ مَلِكٌ<sup>27</sup> مِنْ مُلُوكِهِمْ يُقَالُ لَهُ

<sup>a</sup> For Hebrew **וְאַתָּה**. <sup>b</sup> Ms. مَارِبِيثَ قَدْس. <sup>c</sup> Ms. استعلن.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. بني.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. ملوكا.

يَارْبَعَامَ وَكَانَ جَبَّارًا <sup>11</sup> وَكَانَ فَيُلْسُوْنَا فَخَضَرَ الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ  
ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ مَجْلِسَهُ <sup>12</sup> [وَأَسْمَعُهُ يَقُولُ أَنَّ مُوسَى قَالَ فِي شَرِيعَتِهِ إِنَّ  
أَنْتُمْ نَقَضْتُمْ عَهْدَ اللَّهِ <sup>13</sup> فَالْسَّمَاءُ تَمْسُكُ الْمَطَرَ فَلَمْ تَمْطُرْ وَالْأَرْضُ  
تَمْسُكُ النَّبَاتَ وَلَمْ تَنْبُتْ <sup>14</sup> فَنَهَضَ الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ قَائِمًا

قَائِلًا حَيُّ اذْنَابِي إِمَامٌ <sup>15</sup> يَاشَ طَالِ وَمَاطَارُ كِيٍّ أُمِّ لَفِي دَبَارِي تَفْسِيرُ  
ذَلِكَ وَعِزَّةُ اللَّهِ (Ms., p. 222) لَمْ يَنْزِلْ طُلٌّ وَلَا مَطَرٌ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ  
تَعَالَى وَأَرَادَ الْمَلِكُ قَتْلَ الْخَضِرِ <sup>2</sup> فَأَخْفَاهُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَامْتَنَعَ الطُّلُّ  
وَالْمَطَرُ ثَلَاثَ سِنِينَ وَهَلَكَ النَّاسُ <sup>3</sup> مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ  
حَضَرَ الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي مَجْلَسِ الْمَلِكِ <sup>4</sup> وَطَلَبَ مِنْهُ  
الْكَهْنَةُ وَالْعُلَمَاءُ فَاجْتَمَعَ إِلَيْهِ أَرْبَعِيَّةٌ رَجُلٍ وَطَلَبَ مِنَ <sup>5</sup> الْمَلِكِ  
عِجْلَيْنِ مِنْ بَقَرٍ وَقَالَ الْخَضِرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لِلْكَهْنَةِ اخْتَارُوا  
<sup>6</sup> لَكُمْ عِجْلًا وَأَذْبَحُوهُ وَاجْعَلُوا عَلَيْهِ حَطْبًا وَأَدْعُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ وَأَنَا  
<sup>7</sup> أَفْعَلُ بِالْعِجْلِ الْآخَرِ كَذَلِكَ وَأَدْعُوا <sup>8</sup> رَبِّي وَتَدْعُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ وَأَيُّ  
<sup>8</sup> إِلَهٍ نَزَلَتْ نَارُهُ وَأَكَلَتْ الْعِجْلَ فَهُوَ إِلَهٌ نَعْبُدُ فَذَبَحُوا الْكَهْنَةُ  
<sup>9</sup> عِجْلَهُمْ وَجَعَلُوا عَلَيْهِ حَطْبًا فَاسْتَعَاذُوا بِآلِهَتِهِمْ فَلَمْ يَعِينُوهُمْ  
<sup>10</sup> فَجَعَلَ الْخَضِرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَهْزُوٌ بِهِمْ وَيَقُولُ نَبِّهُوا آلِهَتَكُمْ لَا

<sup>a</sup> Ms. (أعم) (originally أم).

<sup>b</sup> Ms. وادعوا.

<sup>c</sup> Ms. يهزوا.

<sup>11</sup> يَكُونُوا نِيَامًا أَوْ مُشْتَغِلِينَ عَنْكُمْ بِسِبَاحَتِهِمْ<sup>a</sup> نَادَوْهُمْ بِصَوْتٍ  
<sup>12</sup> قَوِيٍّ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَسْمَعُونَكُمْ وَإِنَّ الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَخَذَ الْعَجَل  
<sup>13</sup> الَّذِي لَهُ فَذَبَحَهُ وَجَعَلَهُ فِي حُفْرَةٍ وَجَعَلَ مَعَهُ مَاءً عِوَضًا عَنِ  
الْكَطْبِ<sup>14</sup> وَبَسَطَ يَدَهُ قَابِلًا عَنَانِي اذْنَانِي عَنَانِي هَيَوْمَ يَوَازِعُ  
<sup>15</sup> كِي اتَا هُوَ هَا الْاِلهِيم تَفْسِيرِ ذَلِكَ أَغْنَيْنِي يَا اللَّهُ الْيَوْمَ  
(Ms., p. 23) يُعْلَمُ أَنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْإِلَهُ وَمَا تَمَّ إِلَهُ غَيْرُكَ فَلَمْ يُتَمَّ  
الْكَلَامَ إِلَّا وَنَزَلْتُ<sup>b</sup> نَارٌ<sup>c</sup> [وَأَكَلْتُ الْعَجَلُ وَشَرِبْتُ الْمَاءَ وَخَرُّوا  
بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ سَاجِدِينَ<sup>d</sup> قَائِلِينَ اللَّهُ إِلَهُنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ فَذَبَحَ  
الْخَضِرُ الْكَهَنَةَ بِيَدِهِ<sup>e</sup> عَلِي الْكَفِيرِ وَنَزَلَ الْمَطَرُ وَلَمْ يَرْجِعِ الْمَلِكُ  
عَنْ كُفْرِهِ وَأَرَادَ قَتْلَ<sup>f</sup> الْخَضِرَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَخْفَاهُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ  
فَصَلَّ وَمَا يَدُلُّ<sup>g</sup> عَلِي نَبَوَّتَهُ صَلِّي اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّم أَنَّ بُخْتَنَصَرَ  
لَمَّا خَرِبَ بَيْتُ الْمُقَدَّسِ رَجَعَ<sup>h</sup> إِلَي مُلْكِهِ [وَرَأَى فِي مَنَامِهِ صَنْمًا  
رِجْلَاهُ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَرَأْسُهُ فِي السَّمَاءِ وَرَأْسُهُ<sup>i</sup> مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَصَدْرُهُ وَنِزَاعَاهُ<sup>j</sup>  
مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَبَطْنُهُ مِنْ نُكَّاسٍ<sup>k</sup> وَفَخَذَاهُ<sup>l</sup> مِنْ حَدِيدٍ وَرِجْلَاهُ مِنْ  
فَخَّارٍ وَرَأَى السَّمَاءَ قَدْ اذْشَقَّتْ<sup>m</sup> وَإِذَا بِمَلِكٍ بِيَدِهِ سَيْفٌ فَقَطَعَ  
الرُّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ وَوَقَعَ الصَّنَمُ وَتَكَسَّرَ<sup>n</sup> وَعَلَتْ رِجْلَاهُ<sup>o</sup> عَلِي سَايِرِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. بسباحتهم. <sup>b</sup> Ms. تنزلت. <sup>c</sup> Ms. ونراعيه.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. وفخذيه.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. رجليه.

بَدَنِهِ فَلَمَّا اسْتَيْقِظَ بُخْتَنَصْرٌ مِنْ مَنَامِهِ دَعَا<sup>12</sup> دَانِيَالَ عَلَيْهِ  
السلام وكان وزيراً له فَقَصَّ عَلَيْهِ المَنَامَ فَقَالَ دَانِيَالُ<sup>13</sup> عَلَيْهِ  
السلام إِنَّ الرُّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ هُوَ أَنْتَ يَا مَلِكُ وَالْفِضَّةُ هُمْ أَوْلَادُكَ<sup>14</sup>  
[الذين يملكون مِنْ بَعْدِكَ والنُّحَاسُ هُمْ مَلُوكُ]<sup>15</sup> يَمْلِكُونَ مِنْ  
بَعْدِ<sup>16</sup> أَوْلَادِكَ يُسَمَّوْنَ كِسْرِيَّ وَفَيْصَرَ وَنَحْوَهُمْ مِنْ<sup>17</sup> مَلُوكِ الرُّومِ  
وَالْفَخَّارُ هُمْ مَلُوكُ يَظْهَرُونَ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ وَهُمْ يَكُونُونَ<sup>18</sup>  
(Ms., p. 24) أَفْخَرَ الأُمَمِ وَتَعْلَوْ<sup>19</sup> كَلِمَتَهُمْ عَلَي سَائِرِ الأُمَمِ كَمَا عَلَا  
الْفَخَّارُ عَلَي سَائِرِ<sup>2</sup> الصُّنَمِ وَالْمَلَكُ الَّذِي نَزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَقَطَعَ  
الرُّأْسَ الذَّهَبَ هُوَ<sup>3</sup> النَّبِيُّ الْمَبْعُوثُ إِلَي سَائِرِ الأُمَمِ وَهُوَ الَّذِي  
يُطَهِّرُ الأَرْضَ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ<sup>4</sup> الأصنامِ وَتَصْدِيقُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ يَعْدَمَ الْمَلِكُ  
فَلَمْ يَنْتَمْ دَانِيَالُ كَلَامَهُ إِلَّا<sup>5</sup> والأرض قد انشَقَّتْ وَابْتَلَعَتْ بَخْتَنَصْرَ  
فَصَلَّ<sup>6</sup> وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَي نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَی اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَصِدْقِ  
شَرِيعَتِهِ مَا جَاءَ فِي صُكُفِ<sup>7</sup> إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَهُوَ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى  
يَا إِبْرَاهِيمُ خُذْ أَرْبَعَةً مِنَ الطَّيْرِ<sup>8</sup> وَأَرْبَعَةً مِنَ الْبَقَرِ وَأَرْبَعَةً<sup>9</sup> مِنْ  
الْوَحْشِ وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ يَقْسِمَهُمْ<sup>10</sup> كُلَّ وَاحِدٍ نِصْفَيْنِ وَأَمْرُهُ أَنْ لَا يَقْسِمَ

<sup>12</sup> Ms. اَوْلَادَكَ.

<sup>13</sup> The copyist at first wrote بَعْدَكَ, and then crossed out the ك. His eye evidently passed over the words supplied in brackets.

<sup>14</sup> Ms. يَكُونُوا.

<sup>19</sup> Ms. وتعلوا.

<sup>8</sup> Ms. وأربعة.



العصفورَ وأمره أَنْ<sup>10</sup> يَدْعُوهُمْ ففعل إبراهيمُ ذلك فأتوه سَعْيًا أَحْيَاءُ  
 كما كانوا وَإِنَّ<sup>11</sup> اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَدَّ قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام هكذا  
 أُحْيِي المَوْتَى وَأَبْعَثْ<sup>12</sup> مَنْ فِي الْقُبُورِ وقد قال علماء بني إسرائيل  
 فِي شَرْحِ هَذَا الْمَقَامِ<sup>13</sup> أَنَّ أَجْنَاسَ الْكَيَّانِ هُمُ الْأُمَمُ الَّذِينَ  
 تَقَدَّمُوا قَبْلَ ظَهْوَرِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّي<sup>14</sup> اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وقد بادوا  
 وانقسم ملوكهم وَأَنَّ العصفورَ المذكورَ<sup>15</sup> هُوَ إِشَارَةٌ عَنْ اسمعيل  
 وَذُرِّيَّتِهِ الَّذِينَ لَا يَبِيدُونَ وَلَا يَنْقَسِمُونَ (Ms., p. 25) الي يوم  
 الْقِيَامَةِ فصل وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلَي نُبُوَّتِهِ صَلَّي<sup>16</sup> اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ  
 وَصَدَقَ شَرِيعَتَهُ صَلَّي<sup>17</sup> اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا جَاءَ فِي صُحُفِ حَزَقِيلَ  
 عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَنَّهُ لَمَّا خَرَجَ فِي سِيَاحَتِهِ فَوَجَدَ مَقْبَرَةً عَظِيمَةً<sup>18</sup>  
 فِيهَا عِظَامٌ بِالْيَةِ نَخِرَةٌ فَوَقَفَ مُتَعَجِّبًا مُتَعَكِّرًا فِي سِرِّهِ كَيْفَ<sup>19</sup>  
 تَعُودُ هَذِهِ الْعِظَامُ إِلَي مَا كَانَتْ عَلَيْهِ فَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ خَاطَبَهُ اللَّهُ<sup>20</sup>  
 تَعَالَى قَائِلًا يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ قُلْ يَا عِظَامُ يَا بِالْيَةِ يَا نَخِرَةُ اسْمِعِي  
 كَلَامَ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّهُ يَقُولُ لِكَ<sup>21</sup> اجْتَمِعِي بَعْضُكِ إِلَي بَعْضٍ فَلَمَّا فَرَغَ  
 مِنْ كَلَامِهِ وَإِذَا الْمَقْبَرَةُ<sup>22</sup> قَدْ اهْتَزَّتْ وَاجْتَمَعَتِ الْعِظَامُ وَامْتَدَّتْ  
 الْأَعْصَابُ وَالتَفَّتِ<sup>23</sup> الْعُرُوقُ وَالشَّرَابُونَ<sup>24</sup> وَاكْتَسَتِ الْجُلُودُ وَإِنَّ

<sup>10</sup> Ms. عَظِيمَةً.

<sup>11</sup> Ms. لَكَ.

<sup>12</sup> Ms. وَالشَّرَابِينَ.

اللّٰهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالٰى<sup>10</sup> قَالَ لَهُ قُلْ يَا رُوحُ ادْخُلِيْ فِيْهِمْ فَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ  
السلام ذلك فنهضوا مِنْ<sup>11</sup> وَرَقَّتْهُمْ قَائِمِينَ يَنْقُضُونَ التُّرَابَ مِنْ  
عَلِيٍّ وَجُوهَهُمْ وَرُؤُسُهُمْ<sup>12</sup> وَهُمْ يَشْهَدُونَ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا  
شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَنَّ الْمَوْتَ<sup>13</sup> حَقٌّ وَالْحَيَاةَ بَاطِلٌ ثُمَّ قَالُوا لِنَبِيِّهِمْ نَحْنُ  
فِي الدُّنْيَا أَمْ الْقِيَامَةُ قَامَتْ<sup>14</sup> فَقَالَ لَهُمْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ بَلْ أَنْتُمْ فِي  
الدُّنْيَا مِنْهُمْ مَنْ طَلَبَ الْمَوْتَ فَعَادَ مَيِّتًا<sup>15</sup> وَمِنْهُمْ [مَنْ] دَخَلَ  
الْمَدِينَةَ وَهَذِهِ السَّيْرَةُ كَانَتْ فِي رَمَانٍ يَارْبَعَامَ<sup>16</sup> الْمَلِكِ (Ms., p. 26)  
الَّذِي كَفَرَ وَرَأَى هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ الْعَظِيمَةَ وَلَمْ يَرْجِعْ عَنْ كُفْرِهِ<sup>17</sup> وَكَانَ<sup>b</sup>  
فَيَلْسُوفًا فَفَصَلَ وَمِمَّا يَدُلُّ عَلَى نَبَوَّتِهِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّ  
اسْمَهُ فِي التَّوْرَةِ مَآنَ مَآنَ وَفِي صُحُفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ يَوْشِي يَاهُو وَعُلَمَاءُ  
بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ الَّذِينَ فَسَّرُوا التَّوْرَةَ<sup>18</sup> فَسَّرُوا ذَلِكَ فَيَنْهَمُ مَنْ قَالَ  
جِدًّا جِدًّا وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ أَحْمَدُ أَحْمَدُ<sup>19</sup> وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَالَ عَظِيمًا  
عَظِيمًا وَالَّذِي قَالَ جِدًّا جِدًّا هُوَ لَفْظٌ مُشْتَرِكٌ<sup>20</sup> أَعْنِي عَظِيمًا  
عَظِيمًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ ظَهَرَ مِنْ نَسْلِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ أَكْثَرُ مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَوَاتُ  
اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَاسْمُهُ فِي صُحُفِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ يَوْشِي يَاهُو وَهَذَا  
الاسْمُ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَلَمْ يُذَكَّرْ لِأَحَدٍ إِلَّا لِمُحَمَّدٍ صَلَوَاتُ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. ياربعم.<sup>b</sup> Ms. وكان twice.

الله عليه وسلم <sup>10</sup> فصل أعلم أن مدة ملك بني إسرائيل كانت ثمان مائة سنة<sup>11</sup> واثنين وخمسين سنة منها سبع مائة سنة كانوا تابعين شريعة موسى عليه السلام وكل من قصدهم من الملوك يهلك<sup>12</sup> كما هلك سنكاريب وغيره من الملوك وبعد سبع مائة سنة<sup>11</sup> انقسم ملكهم وتولي الملك ياربعام بمدينة دمشق وعمل الصور<sup>13</sup> والتمثيل وبطل الكسج من البيت المقدس وأمر بقتل من يحج إليه وقع (Ms., p. 27) الكرب بينه وبين ابن سليمان بن داود عليهما الصلاة والسلام وكان<sup>2</sup> تبعوا هذا الملك تسعة أسباط ونصف سبط من بني إسرائيل وانتصر<sup>3</sup> علي [ابن] سليمان وقتل بينهم في أول وقعة ثمان مائة ألف وكسر وما زال الكرب بينهم والفتن والسيوف يعمل مائة سنة واثنين وخمسين سنة<sup>4</sup> وهذا الملك قتل الأنبياء وأحرق شريعة موسى عليه الصلاة والسلام وبعد ذلك بعث سبحانه وتعالى بختنصر وأحرق البيت المقدس<sup>5</sup> وذبح علي دم زكرياء أربعة وثمانين ألف شريف وشتتهم في الأرض وبقي البيت المقدس خراباً<sup>6</sup> سبعين سنة وفيه ظهرت السمرة<sup>9</sup> وابتدعوا شريعة من عندهم

<sup>a</sup> Ms. وخمسون.

<sup>b</sup> Ms. وخمسون.

<sup>c</sup> Ms. خراب.

ونسبوا الي موسى عليه السلام<sup>10</sup> وفي ذلك الزمان ظهرت  
 القَرَارُونَ<sup>11</sup> الذين يعتقدون أَنَّ العَزِيْرَ<sup>12</sup> ابنُ اللّهِ وهم الذين  
 سكنوا بأرض الحجاز وبعد سبعين سنةً ظهر<sup>13</sup> ملكٌ يُقال له  
 كُورْشَ وعَمَرُ البيتِ المُقَدَّسِ واجتمعت اليه اليهودُ وبقي<sup>14</sup> البيتُ  
 المقدَّس عامراً أربع مائة سنةٍ وثمانين<sup>15</sup> سنةً وفيه ظهر المسيحُ  
 عيسى بنُ مريمَ عليه السلام وكانت سببُ خرابِ البيتِ الأوّلِ  
 الذي<sup>16</sup> بناه سليمان بن داود عليهما السلام نقضهم عهدَ  
 اللّهِ وعملهم<sup>17</sup> (Ms., p. 28) الصُّورَ<sup>18</sup> والتماثيل وقتلهم الأنبياء  
 وسببُ خرابِ البيتِ الثاني<sup>19</sup> الذي عَمَرَهُ كُورْشَ اُخْتِلَافُ علمائهم  
 في ذاتِ البارئِ سبحانه<sup>20</sup> وتعالى وفي صفاته وفي كلامِهِ وكفرهم  
 بالمسيح عيسى بن مريم عليه<sup>21</sup> الصلاة والسلام فصل اُخْتِلَافُ  
 في كلامِ البارئِ سبحانه<sup>22</sup> وتعالى فيهم مَنْ قال بلا حَرْفٍ ولا  
 صَوْتٍ ومنهم مَنْ قال<sup>23</sup> بكُحْرٍ وصوتٍ وسببُ ذلك اِتِّبَاعُ الفلاسِفةِ  
 واعتقادُ مذهبهم<sup>24</sup> فإنَّهم يعتقدون قَدَمَ العالمِ وهذه الغلطةُ  
 العظيمةُ نَزَلَتْ بِهِمْ<sup>25</sup> أَسْفَلَ السَّافِلِينَ فإنَّهم جهلوا المَوْجُودَ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. القَرَارِيين.<sup>b</sup> Ms. وثمانون.<sup>c</sup> Ms. الذي repeated.<sup>d</sup> Ms. عملهم.<sup>e</sup> Ms. الصُّورَ.<sup>f</sup> Ms. بكُحْرٍ.

وَالْإِيجَادَ وَالْمُوجِدَ<sup>9</sup> وَجَهَلُوا حَقِيقَةَ النُّبُوَّةِ وَمَرَاتِبَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَنَفَوْا  
الصَّانِعَ وَعَجَزُوا<sup>10</sup> الْقُدْرَةَ وَوَقَفَتْ عُقُولُهُمْ عِنْدَ الْفَلَكَ وَأَفْلَاطُونُ  
وَارِصْطُوا<sup>11</sup> عِظْمَاءُهُمْ عَجَزُوا عَنْ مَعْرِفَةِ حَقِيقَةِ الْجِسْمِ فَكَيْفَ  
بِسَبِيلِهِمْ إِلَى مَعْرِفَةِ<sup>12</sup> كَلَامِ الْبَارِي سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى وَالْأَنْبِيَاءُ  
عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ<sup>13</sup> خَرَقُوا الْحُجُبَ وَاتَّصَلُوا بِعَالَمِ الْمَلَكَوَتِ  
وَأَخْبَرُوا مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى<sup>14</sup> أَنَّهُ أَبَدَعَ الْعَالَمَ مِنَ الْعَدَمِ بِقُدْرَةٍ لَا  
يُشَوِّبُهَا عَجْزٌ وَقُوَّةٌ لَا يَلْحَقُهَا<sup>15</sup> ضَعْفٌ<sup>16</sup> وَهَذَا فَاتِحَةُ التَّوْرَةِ  
قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى بَرَأَشَيْتُ (Ms., p. 29) بَارَأُ تَفْسِيرُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ أَبَدَعَ  
الْعَالَمَ مِنَ الْعَدَمِ فَصَلِّ<sup>17</sup> أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْفَلَسَفَةَ هِيَ مَذْهَبٌ قَدِيمٌ  
وَأَفْتَرَقَ أَهْلُهَا فِرْقًا<sup>18</sup> فَمِنْهُمْ الدَّهْرِيَّةُ<sup>19</sup> الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَعْتَقِدُوا صَانِعًا  
وَمِنْهُمْ الْكَلُولِيَّةُ وَمِنْهُمْ الْإِتِّكَادِيَّةُ<sup>20</sup> وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَعْتَقِدُ قَدَمَ  
الْعَالَمِ وَإِتِّبَابَ الصَّانِعِ وَمِنْهُمْ الصَّابِيَّةُ<sup>21</sup> الَّذِينَ يَعْْبُدُونَ الْكَوَاكِبَ  
وَجَمِيعُ الْفَلَسِيفَةِ يَعْتَقِدُونَ<sup>22</sup> قَدَمَ الْعَالَمِ لَا خَلَا وَلَا مَلَأَ فَجَعَلُوا  
إِلَهَ الْعَالَمِ مِنْ دَاخِلِ الْفَلَكَ<sup>23</sup> وَهُمْ أَعْدَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَعْدَاءُ الرُّسُلِ وَهُمْ  
الَّذِينَ أَسَّسُوا عِبَادَةَ الْأَصْنَامِ<sup>24</sup> وَصَوَّرُوا الصُّوَرَ وَالتَّمَاثِيلَ وَصَنَعُوا  
الْبَرَابِي وَالْأَهْرَامَ وَمَنْ<sup>25</sup> عَظَّمْ مِنْهُمْ أَدْعَى اللَّهَ كَالنَّمْرُودِ بْنِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. reads اَرِصْطُوا for Aristotle. <sup>b</sup> Ms. ضَعْفٌ. <sup>c</sup> Ms. فَرَقَ.

كنعان وفرعون<sup>10</sup> ولَمَّا يَظْهَرُ ذَلِكَ وَيَقْشُرُ<sup>a</sup> يَغَارُ الْبَارِي<sup>b</sup> سُبْحَانَهُ  
 وَتَعَالَى<sup>11</sup> لِدَانِهِ وَيُرْسِلُ الرُّسُلَ بِالآيَاتِ وَالْبَرَاهِينِ وَالْمُعْجِزَاتِ  
 الْخَارِقَةِ<sup>12</sup> لَطَبَائِعِ الوجودِ وَلَمَّا أَرْسَلَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مُوسَى  
 عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ<sup>13</sup> قَالَ لَهُ إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ لَنْ يُؤْمِنَ بِكَ لِأَنِّي اخْتَرْتُ أَنْ  
 أَكْثَرَ آيَاتِي وَمُعْجِزَاتِي<sup>14</sup> بِأَرْضِ مِصْرَ<sup>b</sup> وَبِاللِّسَانِ<sup>b</sup> الْعِبْرَانِيِّ لِمَا عَنِ  
 رَبِّهِ مَوْثِي<sup>15</sup> بِأَرْضِ<sup>c</sup> مِصْرَائِمَ فَصَلَّ فِي الرَّدِّ عَلَيَّ عَقِيدَةً  
 (Ms., p. 30) الْفَلَاسِفَةِ وَهِيَ قَدَمُ الْعَالَمِ أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ هَذَا الْعَالَمَ  
 أَعْنِي الْفَلَكَ وَمَا<sup>2</sup> حَوِيَّ وَهُوَ كَشَخْصٍ وَاحِدٍ مُكْبِطُهُ بَسِيطٌ  
 وَحَشْوُهُ وَدَاخِلُهُ<sup>3</sup> مُتَكَثِّرُ الْأَجْزَاءِ وَمُرَكَّبٌ مِنْ مَادَّةٍ وَصُورَةٍ وَفِيهِ مَنْ  
 لَهُ شَعُورٌ<sup>4</sup> كَالْحَيَوَانَ وَفِيهِ مَنْ لَيْسَ شَعُورٌ كَالْجَبَادَاتِ وَمِنْ  
 الْمَحَالِ أَنْ تَوْحِدَهُ<sup>5</sup> هَذَا لِكثْرَةِ ذَاتِهَا فَلَزِمَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ غَيْرَهُ  
 أَوْجَدُهُ وَلَا<sup>6</sup> يَخْلُو وَجُودُهُ لَهُ عَنْ أَرْبَعَةِ أَقْسَامِ الْقِسْمِ الْأَوَّلِ أَنْ  
 يَكُونَ وَجُودُهُ لَهُ عَنْ مَادَّةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَمُورَةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَهَذَا مَكَالٌ<sup>7</sup>  
 عَقْلًا وَشَرْعًا وَطَبْعًا أَنْ يَتَعَيَّنَ مَوْجُودٌ مَادَّةً [بِلا] صُورَةٍ أَوْ صُورَةً<sup>8</sup>  
 بِبِلَا مَادَّةٍ وَأَنْ قَالُوا أَنَّ الْهَيْئُولِيَّ<sup>e</sup> الْأَوَّلِيَّ لَهَا وَجُودٌ فَوْجُودَهَا  
 ذَهْنِيٌّ<sup>f</sup> لَا عِيَانِيٌّ<sup>f</sup> لِأَنَّ الوجودَ الذَّهْنِيَّ لَا يَكُونُ سَبَبًا لِلْمَوْجُودِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. يفشرو. <sup>b</sup> Ms. وبلسان. <sup>c</sup> Ms. sic. <sup>d</sup> Ms. توجد.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. = Gr. ἡιούλι.

<sup>f</sup> Ms. ذهنيًا and عيانيًا.

<sup>11</sup> العَيَانِي نَعَمَ الْمَوْجُودِ الْعَيَانِي هُوَ سَبَبُ الْوُجُودِ الذَّهْنِي  
<sup>12</sup> وَالْقِسْمُ الثَّانِي أَنْ يَكُونَ وَجُودُهُ أَعْنِي بِهِ الْفَلَكَ وَمَا حَوِي <sup>13</sup> عَنْ  
 مَادَّةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَصُورَةٍ لَمْ تَكُنْ وَهَذَا الرَّأْيُ ذَهَبَ إِلَيْهِ بَعْضُ  
<sup>14</sup> الْمُتَكَلِّمِينَ فَيَنْتَهِمُ قَالُوا أَنَّ الْفَاعِلَ حَيٌّ وَقَادِرٌ وَمُرِيدٌ وَأَوْجِبُوا  
<sup>15</sup> لَهُ بَاقِيَ الصِّفَاتِ وَجَعَلُوهُ يَفْعَلُ فِي الْمَادَّةِ مَا يَشَاءُ وَيَفْعَلُ فِيهَا  
 (Ms., p. 31) صُورَةً لَمْ تَكُنْ وَهَذَا الرَّأْيُ بَاطِلٌ مِنْ وَجْهَيْنِ "  
 أَحَدُهُمَا يَلْزَمُ أَنْ يَكُونَ <sup>2</sup> الْفَاعِلُ جُزْأً عَلَيْهِ كَالْبَنَاءِ يَبْنِي الْبَيْتَ  
 مِنْ أَجْزَاءٍ مُتَقَدِّمَةٍ عَنِ الْبَيْتِ <sup>3</sup> كَالْكَلْسِ وَالْحَاكِمِ وَالْوَجْهَ الثَّانِي  
 أَنْ يَكُونَ الْمَادَّةُ قَدْ شَارَكَتِ <sup>4</sup> الْفَاعِلَ فِي الْأَزَلِّ وَلَوْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْدَمَهَا  
 مَا قَدَّرَ وَحَاشَا مِنْ <sup>5</sup> ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ شَرِيكٌ <sup>6</sup> فِي مُلْكِهِ سُبْحَانَهُ  
 وَتَعَالَى عَنْ ذَلِكَ غُلُوبًا <sup>7</sup> كَبِيرًا وَالْقِسْمُ الثَّالِثُ أَنْ يَكُونَ وَجُودُهُ  
 عَنْ مَادَّةٍ <sup>8</sup> لَمْ تَكُنْ وَصُورَةٍ لَمْ تَزَلْ وَهَذَا مَكَالٌ أَنْ يَتَقَوَّمَ مَوْجُودٌ  
 بِالْمَعْدُومِ فَلْزَمَ وَتَنَجَّ بِمَا تَقْتَضِيهِ الْقِيَاسُ النَّظَرِيُّ الْبُرْهَانِيُّ أَنْ  
 [يَكُونَ] وَجُودُ <sup>9</sup> هَذَا الْعَالَمِ أَعْنِي بِهِ الْفَلَكَ وَمَا حَوِي عَنْ مَادَّةٍ  
 لَمْ تَكُنْ وَصُورَةٍ <sup>10</sup> لَمْ تَكُنْ وَهَذَا هُوَ الْعَدَمُ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ جَمِيعُ  
 الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالرَّسُلِ صَلَوَاتُ <sup>11</sup> اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ فَصَلِّ أَعْلَمُ وَفَقَّكَ

\* Ms. وجوه .

b So the Ms.

c Ms. سريكا .

اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لَطَاعَتِهِ <sup>12</sup> أَنَّ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ  
 مَعَ عَظَمِ شَأْنِهِمْ وَمَرَاتِبِهِمْ <sup>13</sup> مُخْتَلِفَةً مِنْهُمْ مَنْ خَاطَبَهُ اللَّهُ فِي  
 الْمَنَامِ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ خَاطَبَهُ اللَّهُ وَحَيًّا <sup>14</sup> مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ وَمِنْهُمْ  
 مَنْ هُوَ فِي حَضْرَةِ الْقَدِيسِ دَائِمًا <sup>15</sup> فَصَلِّ اعْلَمْ أَنَّ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنَ دَاوُدَ  
 عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ (Ms., p. 32) ضَرَبَ الْكَلَامَ مَثَلًا فَقَالَ مَثَلُ  
 رَجُلٍ نَائِمٍ رَأَى <sup>16</sup> فِي مَنَامِهِ شَخْصًا مَيِّتًا <sup>17</sup> لَهُ مَدَّةٌ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ وَإِنَّ  
 ذَلِكَ الْمَيِّتَ كَلَّمَ النَّائِمَ فِي مَنَامِهِ <sup>18</sup> وَأَخْبَرَهُ بِغُيَّيْبَاتٍ بِشَفَةِ وَلِسَانٍ  
 وَحَرْفٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ <sup>19</sup> هُنَاكَ لَا شَفَةَ وَلَا لِسَانَ وَلَا حَرْفٍ وَلَا  
 صَوْتٌ فَلَمَّا اسْتَيْقِظَ النَّائِمُ <sup>20</sup> مِنْ مَنَامِهِ أَخْبَرَ عَنْ جَمِيعِ مَا قَالَ لَهُ  
 الْمَيِّتُ بِشَفَةِ وَلِسَانٍ وَحَرْفٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ  
 وَسَلَّمَ إِنَّ الرُّؤْيَا الصَّادِقَةَ جُزْءٌ <sup>21</sup> مِنْ سِتَّةٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ جُزْءًا <sup>22</sup> مِنَ  
 النَّبُوءَةِ وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَرَى <sup>23</sup> مَنَامًا <sup>24</sup> وَيَعْتَقِدُ أَنَّهُ فِي الْيَقِظَةِ  
 فَالنَّبُوءَةُ أَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْيَقِظَةِ <sup>25</sup> بَلَا قِيَاسٍ <sup>26</sup> فَصَلِّ اعْلَمْ وَفَقَّكَ اللَّهُ  
 تَعَالَى لَطَاعَتِهِ أَنَّنِي كُنْتُ <sup>27</sup> مِنْ عُلَمَاءِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَمَنْ اللَّهُ  
 سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى عَلَيَّ بِالْإِسْلَامِ وَكَانَ <sup>28</sup> سَبَبُهُ أَنْ حَصَلَ لِي ضَعْفٌ  
 فَدَخَلَ عَلَيَّ طَبِيبٌ فَجَبَّهَزَ لِي كَفَنُ الْمَوْتِ <sup>29</sup> فَرَأَيْتُ فِي مَنَامِي

<sup>a</sup> Ms. زاي.<sup>b</sup> Ms. جزوا.<sup>c</sup> Ms. يرا.<sup>d</sup> Ms. اليقضة.



قَائِلًا يَقُولُ أَفَرَأَيْتُمْ سُورَةَ الْحَمْدِ تُخْلَصُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ <sup>13</sup> فَلَمَّا  
استنقظتُ من منامي طلبتُ من ساعتي عدلاً من <sup>14</sup> عدولِ  
المسلمينَ وكان جاري فمسكتُ بيدهِ قَائِلًا أَشْهَدُ <sup>15</sup> أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا  
اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ وَلَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ (Ms., p. 33)  
وَرَسُولُهُ أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ عَلَى الدِّينِ كُلِّهِ  
وَأَخَذْتُ <sup>16</sup> أَكْرَرُ وَأَقُولُ يَا مُثَبِّتَ الْقُلُوبِ ثَبِّتْنِي عَلَى الْإِيمَانِ فَلَمَّا  
دَخَلْتُ <sup>17</sup> إِلَى الْجَامِعِ وَرَأَيْتُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مُصْطَفِينَ كَصُفُوفِ  
الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَقَائِلًا <sup>18</sup> يَقُولُ لِي فِي سِرِّي هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ الَّتِي بَشَّرْتُ  
بظُهورِهَا الْأَنْبِيَاءُ <sup>19</sup> عَلَيْهِمْ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ فَلَمَّا خَرَجَ  
الْخَطِيبُ لَابِسًا شِعَارَ <sup>20</sup> السَّوَادِ حَصَلَ عِنْدِي مِنْهُ هَيْبَةٌ <sup>21</sup> عَظِيمَةٌ  
فَلَمَّا ضَرَبَ الْمَنْبَرَ بِسَيْفِهِ <sup>22</sup> زَعَزَعَتْ فَرْبَتُهُ جَمِيعَ أَعْضَائِي وَكَانَ  
الْخَطِيبُ يَوْمَئِذٍ ابْنُ <sup>23</sup> الْمُؤَفَّقِ بَثْغَرِ الإسْكَندَرِيَّةِ فَلَمَّا قَالَ فِي آخِرِ  
خُطْبَتِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ <sup>24</sup> بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ [ذِي] الْقُرْبَى  
وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ <sup>25</sup> وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ  
فَلَمَّا قَامَتِ الصَّلَاةُ حَصَلَ لِي <sup>26</sup> حَالٌ عَظِيمٌ بِكَيْفُتُ كُنْتُ أَرَى صُفُوفَ  
الْمُسْلِمِينَ كَصُفُوفِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ <sup>27</sup> يَتَجَلَّى اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى

لرُكُوعِهِمْ وَسُجُودِهِمْ وَقَايِلًا يَقُولُ فِي <sup>13</sup>سِرِّي إِنْ كَانَتْ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ  
 حَصَلَ لَهُمْ خُطَابُ اللَّهِ فِي الدَّهْرِ مَرَّتَيْنِ <sup>14</sup>فَقَدْ حَصَلَ لَهُنَّ  
 الْأُمَّةُ خُطَابُ اللَّهِ فِي كُلِّ صَلَاةٍ وَتَقَرَّرَ عِنْدِي أَنَّنِي <sup>15</sup>لَمْ أُخْلَقْ إِلَّا  
 مُسْلِمًا وَكَانَ إِسْلَامِي فِي مُسْتَهْدَلِ شَعْبَانَ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ (Ms., p. 34)  
 وَتِسْعِينَ وَسِتَّمِائَةً فَلَمَّا سَمِعْتُ الْقُرْآنَ فِي شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ رَأَيْتُ فِيهِ  
 مِنَ الْفَصَاحَةِ الْعَظِيمَةِ وَالْبَلَاغَةِ وَالْإِعْجَازِ الْعَظِيمِ <sup>3</sup>بَحْثَاتٍ أَنَّ  
 الْقِصَّةَ الَّتِي تُذَكَّرُ فِي التَّوْرَةِ فِي كُرَاسَيْنِ مَذْكُورَةٍ <sup>6</sup>فِي آيَةٍ أَوْ آيَتَيْنِ  
 وَهَذَا هُوَ الْإِعْجَازُ الْعَظِيمُ لَا يَقْدِرُ بَشَرٌ عَلَيَّ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ بِآيَةٍ مِنْ  
 مِثْلِهِ مِثْلَ قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى وَإِذْ قَالَ مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ يَا قَوْمِ أذكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ  
 اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَعَلَ فِيكُمْ أَنْبِيَاءَ وَجَعَلَكُمْ مُلُوكًا <sup>7</sup>وَأَنَاكُمْ مَا لَمْ  
 يَكُنْ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْعَالَمِينَ يَا قَوْمِ ادْخُلُوا الْأَرْضَ <sup>8</sup>الْمُقَدَّسَةَ الَّتِي  
 كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَلَا تَرْتَدُّوا عَلَيَّ ادْجَارِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ <sup>9</sup>وهذه  
 الْقِصَّةُ مَكْتُوبَةٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ فِي كُرَاسَيْنِ فَلَمَّا أَمَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ أَنْ <sup>10</sup>يَدْخُلُوا  
 الْأَرْضَ الْمُقَدَّسَةَ طَلَبُوا مِنْ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ أَنْ <sup>11</sup>يُرْسِلَ لَهُمْ  
 قُصَادًا ففَعَلَ لَهُمْ ذَلِكَ وَاخْتَارُوا مِنْ كُلِّ سَبْطٍ نَقِيبًا <sup>12</sup>وَسَمَّى كُلَّ  
 وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ بِاسْمِهِ مِنْ جَمِلَتِهِمْ يَوْشَعُ وَكَالِيبُ وَهَمَا الرَّجُلَانِ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. .بَنِي. <sup>b</sup> We might supply فِي الْقُرْآنِ. <sup>c</sup> is repeated.

<sup>13</sup>الَّذَانِ ذَكَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَمَذْكُورٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ صَفَةً دَخَلُوهُمْ <sup>14</sup>إِلَى الْأَرْضِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ وَمَا جَرَى لَهُمْ فِي ثَمَارِ الْأَرْضِ وَمَا جَرَى لَهُمْ <sup>15</sup>مَعَ الْعَمَالِقَةِ وَطَلَبُوا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [أَنْ] يَرْجُمُوا مُوسَى فَكَالَ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَهُ (Ms., p. 35) الْغَمَامُ وَهَذَا نَزَلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ فَإِنَّهَا مُكْرَمَةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً وَخَالَفُوا مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَرَحَلُوا قَاصِدِينَ الشَّامَ فَخَرَجَتْ لَهُمُ الْعَمَالِقَةُ وَكَسَرُوا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَهَذَاكَ تَشَقَّعَ مُوسَى بِبَحْمَدٍ <sup>1</sup>صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَصَلَّ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى وَمَا نُرْسِلُ إِلَّا الْمُرْسَلِينَ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرِينَ وَمُنذِرِينَ أَعْلَمَ أَنَّ التَّوْرَةَ وَصُحُفَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ أَخْبَرُوا بِجَمِيعِ مَا جَرَى فِي مَلِكِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ قَبْلَ وَقْعِهِ وَأَنَّهُمْ حَدَّثُوا وَأَنذَرُوا عَنْ وَقْعِ قِتْنٍ <sup>2</sup>عِنْدَ انْتِهَاءِ سَبْعِ مِائَةِ سَنَةٍ هِلَالِيَّةٍ لِلْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ بِسَبَبِ مَا حَرَّفُوا <sup>3</sup>وَغَيَّرُوا وَأَبْدَلُوا مِنْ كَلَامِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَجَعَلُوا لَهُمْ لِنُبُوَّةِ الْمُصْطَفِيِّ وَكُفَرَهُمْ <sup>4</sup>بِالْمَسِيحِ عِيسَى بْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَعَمِلَهُمُ الصُّورَ وَالتَّمَاثِيلَ فِي الْبَيْعِ الَّتِي بِسَبَبِهَا <sup>5</sup>خَرَّبَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى أَوْعَدَ عِبَادَهُ <sup>6</sup>الْأَنْبِيَاءَ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. .الرجلين الذين. <sup>b</sup> Ms. .بني. <sup>c</sup> Ms. .مُكْرَمَت.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. .قِتْن.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. .انْتَهَى.

بزوال الصور والتماثيل من البيع والكنائس وأُعد الملك<sup>13</sup> الذي يكون زوال ذلك علي يده بقرار ملكه وطول عمره ودوام<sup>14</sup> عزه وطاعة ملوك الأرض له وبيان ذلك وبرهانه أن عند<sup>15</sup> انتهاء التواريخ التي دلت عليها الكتب المنزلة وهي انتهاء سبع مائة سنة<sup>16</sup> (Ms., p. 36) هلاية للهجرة النبوية خرب الله علي يد الملك غازان كنائس<sup>17</sup> الشرق فانتصر غازان علي جيوش المسلمين فلما رجع<sup>18</sup> المسلمون من كسرتهم ألهمهم الله سبحانه وتعالى غلق الكنائس وغلقتها بمقتضي الشرع الشريف المطهر فخرجوا المسلمون<sup>19</sup> الي لقاء عدوهم<sup>20</sup> في نوبة شقك<sup>21</sup> فنصرهم الله ولم يزل بنو إسرائيل كذلك هكذا<sup>22</sup> طول مملكتهم عند ما يعملون الصور والتماثيل ينكسروا قدام عدوهم<sup>23</sup> [و] ما يبكوها ينتصروا علي عدوهم وتستقر مملكتهم فلما<sup>24</sup> رجعوا المسلمون<sup>25</sup> وقد نصرروا علي عدوهم فتحت الكنائس وانتقضت<sup>26</sup> العهود فلما رأيت ذلك [حصل] عندي غيرة الله تعالى وخوف علي<sup>27</sup> المسلمين وعلي ملكهم عند انتهاء<sup>28</sup> سبع مائة سنة شمسية فتحركت<sup>29</sup> وتقدمت في طلب عقد مجلس

<sup>a</sup> Ms. المسلمين.<sup>b</sup> Ms. شعجب.<sup>c</sup> Ms. المسلمين.<sup>d</sup> Ms. إنتهي.

اَحْتِسَابًا لِلّٰهِ تَعَالٰى يَكْضَرُوْا فِيْهِ عَشْرَةٌ <sup>12</sup> اَحْبَارٍ مِنْ اَحْبَارِ  
 الْيَهُودِ وَعَشْرَةٌ مِنْ قِسِّيْسِيْ <sup>13</sup> النَّصَارِي فِيْ حَضْرَةِ عِلْمَاءِ الْمُسْلِمِيْنَ  
 بَيْنَ [يَدِي] الْمَلِكِ وَبِيْدِهِمُ التَّوْرَةُ وَالْاَنْجِيْلُ وَالزَّبُورُ <sup>14</sup> وَصَحْفُ  
 الْاَنْبِيَاءِ عَلَيْهِمْ اَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ وَاُظْهِرَ مَا حَرَّفُوا وَغَيَّرُوا  
<sup>15</sup> وَبَدَّلُوا مِنْ كَلَامِ اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰى وَاُيَيِّنَ وَاُجْرَهْنَ نَبُوَّةَ الْمُصْطَفِي وَهُوَ  
 (Ms., p. 37) مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللّٰهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلَبِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ  
 وَالْاَنْجِيْلِ وَالزَّبُورِ وَصَحْفِ <sup>16</sup> الْاَنْبِيَاءِ وَاُقِيمَ الْحِجَابُ وَالْاَدْلَةُ  
 وَالْبِرَاهِيْنَ مِنْ كُتُبِهِمْ عَلَي مَخَوِ الصُّورِ <sup>17</sup> وَالتَّمَاثِيْلِ مِنَ الْبَيْعِ  
 فَاِذَا ظَهَرَ ذَلِكَ يُثْبِتُ لِلْمَلِكِ <sup>18</sup> النَّاصِرِ جَمِيْعَ مَا وَعَدَ <sup>19</sup> اللّٰهُ بِهِ  
 عَلَي لِسَانِ اَنْبِيَائِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَاَفْتَنَتِ <sup>20</sup> الْمُفْتَنِيُوْنَ قَوْلًا وَّاحِدًا <sup>21</sup> هَذَا  
 رَجُلٌ مُّتَقَرِّبٌ اِلَى اللّٰهِ تَعَالٰى بِاَفْضَلِ الْقُرْبِ وَيَحِبُّ عَلَي وَلِيَّ الْاَمْرِ  
<sup>22</sup> اِعَادَتُهُ عَلَي ذَلِكَ وَاَذْنَتْ اُمَّةُ الدِّيْنِ بِعَقْدِ هَذَا الْمَجْلِسِ  
 وَرَسَمَتْ <sup>23</sup> ثَوَابُ الْمَلِكِ بِعَقْدِهِ سِتِّ مَرَارٍ بِمِصْرَ وَالشَّامِ وَلَمْ يُعَقَدْ  
 فَلَاحَوْلَ <sup>24</sup> وَلَا قُوَّةَ اِلَّا بِاللّٰهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيْمِ اِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَاِنَّا اِلَيْهِ  
 رَاْجِعُوْنَ <sup>25</sup> فَصَلِّ اَعْلَمْ اَنَّ جَمِيْعَ مَا وَضَعْتُهُ فِيْ هَذَا الْمُخْتَصَرِ <sup>26</sup> هُوَ

<sup>a</sup> Ms. اجار.

<sup>b</sup> Ms. قسيسين.

<sup>c</sup> Ms. وَاظْهَرُوا, with final وا cancelled by the original hand.

<sup>d</sup> Ms. الملك.

<sup>e</sup> Ms. وافتت.

<sup>f</sup> Ms. المفتيين.

مِمَّا جَاءَ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَصُكِّفَ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ لِكُنِّي جَمْعُهُ وَرَقَبَتُهُ  
 وَاسْتَخْرَجَتْهُ<sup>11</sup> مِنَ اللُّغَةِ الْعِبْرَانِيَّةِ وَالسُّرْيَانِيَّةِ إِلَى اللِّسَانِ الْعَرَبِيِّ  
 الْمُبِينِ الَّذِي<sup>12</sup> نَطَقَ بِهِ سَيِّدُ الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالْآخِرِينَ وَجَعَلَتْهُ نَزْهَةً  
 لِلنَّاطِلِينَ<sup>13</sup> وَرَبِّهَا<sup>14</sup> سَبَّيْنَةُ الْمُحِيطِ فَإِنَّهُ أَحَاطَ بِكُلِّ قَوَاعِدِ  
 الْعُلُومِ الْيَقِينِيَّةِ<sup>15</sup> وَالْعُقُودِ الْإِيمَانِيَّةِ وَالنَّصَائِحِ الدِّينِيَّةِ وَالْمَقَامَاتِ  
 الْعَامَّةِ وَالسُّلُوكَاتِ<sup>16</sup> الْخَاصَّةِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ  
 وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَقَدْ صُنِّفَ (Margin) هَذَا الْكِتَابُ بِجَامِعِ بَنِي  
 أُمَيَّةَ بِدِمَشْقِ الْمَكْرُوسَةِ فِي ثَانِي عَشَرَ رَجَبِ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ عَشْرِينَ  
 وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيَّ سَيِّدِنَا  
 مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَيَّ آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَحَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ وَلَا  
 حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ . تَمَّ

#### TRANSLATION.

The Book of the Paths of Investigation, concerning the Prophetic Office of the Lord of Mankind.

The composition of the servant, poor in the sight of God Almighty, Sa'id ibn Hasan, the Alexandrian. May God be pleased with him and make him happy, and make Paradise his abode and hellfire the abode of the enemies of Mohammed.

In the name of God, the merciful Compassionate One. Lord, bring it to a good conclusion! Amen.

Praise to God, the Lord of the worlds, and prayer and peace be unto our lord, Mohammed, seal of the prophets, and unto

\* Note the rhyme in lines 11 and 12.

his family, his friends, his helpers, his pure wives, the mothers of the faithful, and unto those who follow them in good deeds till the Day of Judgment.

We begin, asking help of God in the blessing of Islam, to declare the prophetic office of the lord of mankind, Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Abdal-Muttalib, the trustworthy and faithful one, whose appearance the prophets of the Children of Israel announced, confirming the saying of the Exalted One in his great book: <sup>1</sup>“And we only sent the Apostles as preachers of good-tidings and warners”; and the word of the Exalted One: (p. 2) <sup>2</sup>“And remember when God accepted the covenant of the prophets, saying, ‘Verily what I have brought you is of the scripture and of wisdom; hereafter an apostle shall come to you confirming the truth of that [scripture] which is with you; ye shall surely believe in him and ye shall assist him;’ God said, ‘Do ye acknowledge and do ye accept my covenant on this condition?’ They said, ‘We acknowledge it.’ He said, ‘Be ye therefore witnesses, and I also bear witness with you.’”

Know that as for the prophets, God sent them with clear arguments and convincing proofs; and they manifested and made known and spoke in proverbs which brought the truth near to the understanding. Moreover, when God related the story of Adam to Moses, in the first book of the Torah, he made known to him that when Adam was in the Garden he spoke Arabic, but when he drove him out, he forgot the Arabic language and spoke Syriac. Now he grieved sorely because of his loss of the Arabic language; so God said in revelation to him, “O Adam, grieve not, for this is the language of the people of Paradise. In Paradise there shall be offspring of thine who shall speak it; and they shall be of Paradise, or of the people of Paradise.”

Another fact which points to his prophetic office is in the story of Noah, in the first book of the Torah, after the story of Adam. When he went out from the ship he withdrew from his wives because of fear lest (p. 3) his offspring be drowned by another flood. But God spoke in revelation to him, saying, “O Noah, return to thy family, for I will not destroy the earth

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<sup>1</sup> Sura 6<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Sura 3<sup>75</sup>.

again;" and God showed him the bow which was appearing in the clouds. Then he said to him, "This is my promise that I will not destroy the earth by a flood."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he showed him the prophets who were to come, and among them [was] Mohammed. And he said to him, "For the sake of this prophet, I will never destroy the earth by a flood."

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the universality of his call is that which comes in the first book in the story of Abraham, the friend of God. When he escaped from the fire of Nimrod, his Lord appeared to him, speaking in the Hebrew tongue:<sup>2</sup> **קום הִתְחַלֵּף בְּאַרְצְךָ לְאַרְכָּהּ וּלְרֵחְבָּהּ כִּי לָךְ אֶתְנַנֶּה**. This is the interpretation: Rise up, walk through the land, its length and breadth; to thy offspring we will give it. When Abraham told Sarah this vision, which was a dream, she knew that the promise of God was true. So she said to Abraham,<sup>3</sup> "Drive Hagar and her Child from me." And it is said that Abraham granted Sarah's request and drove them both forth to the land of the Hijāz. (p. 4.) Then God Almighty said to Abraham, speaking in the Hebrew tongue:<sup>4</sup> **כִּי בִיִּצְחָק**. This is the interpretation: As for Isaac, thou shalt have posterity through him; and as for Ishmael, I will bless him and multiply him and make him great, and I will make his offspring as the stars of the heavens, and from him will come Mohammed. And this latter verse in the Hebrew language is:<sup>5</sup> **וְלִישְׁמַעֲאֵל שְׁמַעְתִּיךָ הִנֵּה בִּרְכָתִי אִתּוֹ וְהַפְרִיתִי מֵאֵד אִתּוֹ וְהִרְבִּיתִי אִתּוֹ בְּמֵאד מֵאֵד**. Those learned ones who comment on the Hebrew language have explained these two words, which are **מֵאֵד מֵאֵד**, as follows: Some say *Ahmed, Ahmed*; others say *Very, Very*; still others say *Great, Great*. But there has not appeared of the offspring of Ishmael a greater than Mohammed.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Hagar went forth, going toward the land of the Hijāz, and thirst came upon her and she cast the babe from her shoulder, it is written

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 9<sup>11-13</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Gen. 18<sup>17</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Gen. 21<sup>10</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Gen. 21<sup>19</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Gen. 17<sup>20</sup>.



in the Torah that God sent unto her angels who caused a spring of water to flow. So she quenched her thirst and gave the babe drink. Then God Almighty spoke to her, saying,<sup>1</sup> (p. 5) "O Hagar, **קוּמִי שְׂאִי אֶת הַנֶּעֱר וְהַחֲזִיקִי אֹתוֹ יָרֵךְ בּוֹ כִּי לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל אֲשִׁמְנֶהוּ**. This is the interpretation: Rise, carry this child and care for him, for from him shall come Mohammed, and his offspring shall be as the stars of the heavens.

Another indication of his prophetic office is in the first book of the Torah in the story of Jacob. As death was approaching, he gathered his children and said to them,<sup>2</sup> "Come near to me; I will tell you what shall happen in the last time." So when they were gathered together he said to them,<sup>3</sup> "Whom will ye serve after I am gone?" They said, "We will serve thy God and the God of thy fathers, Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, one God." Yet there is not found in the Torah mention of anything which he predicted, but it is written in the Torah that he prayed for them and died. So it is known from this that they [the Jews] have removed from this verse the name of the prophet.

Another indication of his prophetic office is in the fourth book of the Torah, in the story of Balaam, son of Beor; the saying:<sup>4</sup> "Behold a star which has appeared from the family of Ishmael and a tribe of Arabs sustaining him. Then because of his manifestation the earth quaked, and those who were upon it."<sup>5</sup> . . . of the offspring of Ishmael except Mohammed. And the earth quaked only because of his manifestation.

(p. 6.) Another indication of his prophetic office is an explicit passage in the fifth book of the Torah. God spoke to Moses saying, "Speak to the sons of Israel in the Hebrew language:"<sup>6</sup> **נְבִיא אֲקִים לָהֶם מִקִּרְבֵּי אֲחֵיהֶם מִבְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל** This is the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 21<sup>18</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Gen. 49<sup>1</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Sura 2<sup>197</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Num. 24<sup>17</sup>.<sup>5</sup> The copyist has here omitted some words.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. 18<sup>18</sup>. Note that the Ms. text has omitted **בְּמוֹךְ**, and supplied the significant words, **יִשְׁמָעֵאל מִבְּנֵי** Note also **אֲחֵיהֶם** instead of **אֲחֵיהֶם**.

interpretation: We will send unto you a prophet from your kindred, of the children of your brother Ishmael, in whose mouth I will put my speech. In the Hebrew language:<sup>1</sup> **וְשַׁמְתִּי דְבָרִי בְּפִי אֱלִיו יִשְׁמְעוּ** I will put my speech in his mouth, and him they shall obey.

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the universality of his call is an explicit passage, with which the Torah is sealed:<sup>2</sup> **אֲרוֹנִי מִסִּנַּי בָּא וְזָרַח מִשְׁעִיר הוֹפִיעַ מֵהָר פָּאֵרָן וְאַתָּה** **מִרְבֶּבֶת קָרַשׁ** This is the interpretation: God came from Sinai and rose from Seir. He revealed himself from the mountains of Paran and appeared with his holy myriads; on his right hand, light, and on his left, fire; unto him the nations assembled and to him the tribes gathered together. The people who know (p. 7) the Hebrew language agree that the mountains of Paran are the mountains of Mecca, and the ten thousands of his holy ones are the people of the Ka'ba. Yet there has not appeared from that region any but Mohammed.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Moses battled with the Amalekites and the Children of Israel were routed, Moses made entreaty to God asking for help through Mohammed, saying in the Hebrew language:<sup>3</sup> **זְכֹר לְעַבְדֶּיךָ** **לְאַבְרָהָם וְלִישְׁמַעֲאֵל**. This is the interpretation: Remember the covenant with Abraham in which thou didst promise to him that of the offspring of Ishmael thou wouldest render victorious the armies of the believers. So God answered his prayer and made the Children of Israel victorious over the Amalekites through the blessing of Mohammed.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 18<sup>18b</sup>. Note that the Ms. text has **וְשַׁמְתִּי** instead of **וְנָתַתִּי**, The two concluding words are taken from verse 15 of this same chapter. They are, apparently, **אֱלִיו יִשְׁמְעוּ** (with change of person). See the note on the Arabic text.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 33<sup>2</sup>. Note that the Ms. text omits **לָמֶן**, which occurs in the Hebrew text after **מִשְׁעִיר**.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. 9<sup>27</sup>. Sa'id interpolates **וְלִישְׁמַעֲאֵל**.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when Joshua, the successor of Moses, conquered Syria and made war on the Amalekites, his army was routed three times because of their unfaithfulness to the covenant.<sup>1</sup> For a man belonging to Joshua's army took a cross of gold from the booty of the Amalekites; so his army was routed three times because of the cross which was taken wrongfully. Then Joshua prayed to God Almighty, asking help by Mohammed, in imitation of the example of Moses. Wherefore God answered his prayer and gave him victory. And God spoke in revelation (p. 8) to Joshua, saying, "The children of Israel have been faithless to my covenants, in that they took wrongfully of the booty, for the booty was unlawful for them." So Joshua inquired carefully of his army and found with one among them a cross of gold. Thereupon Joshua killed and impaled him. Then they conquered the Amalekites.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the Psalms of David: "Blessing upon you, O sons of Ishmael, blessing upon you. A prophet shall be sent from among you; his hand shall be supreme over all peoples, and all peoples shall be under his power." Also in the Hebrew language, in the first book of the Torah, in the story of Ishmael, [it is written] that God promised Abraham that as for his son Ishmael his hand should be supreme over all. And it is the saying of the Exalted One: **יְדוֹ בְּכָל יָד כָּל בֶּן יִשְׁמָאֵל בּוֹ יַעַל פָּנָי כָּל** . This is the interpretation in Arabic: His hand shall be supreme over every people and every people shall be under his power; also he shall dwell in every dwelling of his brethren. But it is well known that as for Ishmael, there came to him no kingdom, and his hand was not supreme over the hand of his brethren; also that he did not go down to Syria and did not dwell there. This happened to no one but Mohammed; and his people are they who dwell in the dwelling-places of the Children of Israel, in Egypt and Syria. This, then, is a decisive proof (p. 9) of his prophetic office.

<sup>1</sup> Joshua 7. A rather confused account of Achan's sin.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 16<sup>12</sup>.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the Psalms of David: "Exalt God, all ye people, and assert belief in the unity of God, O ye families of the Earth. A prophet of mercy will be sent to you."

Another indication of his prophetic office is what is written in the book of Isaiah, the speech of the Exalted One by his own tongue in the Hebrew language:<sup>1</sup> שְׁמְעוּ שָׁמַיִם וְהָאֲרֶץ אֶרֶץ. This is the interpretation. Listen, O heavens, and be reassured, O earth! Why dost thou tremble? He will send unto thee a prophet; through him invoke mercy. Know also that God sent twenty-four prophets after Moses' death; the first of them Joshua, and the last of them Zechariah, who was sawn asunder with a saw. And every prophet has a book in the Hebrew, in which is written the knowledge of that which has gone and of that which shall come, on the authority of God Almighty.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the book of Elijah. When he went out on his journey with seventy men as his companions, and saw the Arabs in the land of the Hijāz, he said to those who were with him, "See these who possess your strongholds." Then they said, "O prophet of God, who is he who shall be their object of worship?" And he replied to them in the Hebrew (p. 10) language: יִשְׁמְעוּ לְאֶרְצִי כְבוֹד וְתִהְיֶה לָהֶם בְּאֵיִם יְגִירוּ. This is the interpretation in Arabic: They shall assert their belief in the unity of God from every great pulpit. His followers said to him, "O prophet of God, who shall teach them this?" Then he said to them in the Hebrew language:<sup>2</sup> בֶּן נֹלָד לְבֵן יִשְׁמַעֵאל. This is the interpretation in Arabic: A child shall be born from the offspring of Ishmael; his name shall be associated with the name of God, and whenever the name of God Almighty is mentioned, his name shall be mentioned. But this happened to no other than Mohammed.

Another indication of the prophetic office is the following. One of the kings of the Children of Israel was named Ahab.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 1<sup>2</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Isa. 42<sup>12</sup>.<sup>3</sup> I Ki. 13<sup>2</sup>. Ms. text substitutes בֶּן יִשְׁמַעֵאל for בֵּית דָּוִד.

He was a tyrant and one who killed the prophets. He also denied the God of Moses, and made idols and served them. Moreover, he set up an altar and offered upon it offerings to the idols. Then God sent to him a prophet who was named Micha, and he cried out with a loud voice,<sup>1</sup> O Altar, O Altar, God says to thee, A prophet God Almighty will send, *יֵאֱשֶׁרֶה שְׁמוֹ* (that is, by interpretation, A name associated with the name of God Almighty); in his name unbelief will cease from the Earth. In proof of the truth of my word, thou shalt be split, O Altar!" And [it was so, for] the prophet had hardly completed his speech when the altar was split and its ashes were scattered on the ground. Then the king desired to kill the prophet, but his hand withered.

(p. 11) Another indication of his prophetic office. One of the kings of the Children of Israel was named Manasseh (Isaiah the prophet was his grandfather), and he was an unbeliever and served idols. He went out to battle with a certain king, and this king conquered Manasseh and found in Manasseh's possession an idol of hollow copper, which he was accustomed to worship. So the king took Manasseh and put him inside the idol and built fires beneath him. Then Manasseh began to ask for help of all the rest of the idols, but they gave him no help. When the fire reached his heart, he cried unto God, asking help through Mohammed, following the example of his grandfather, Isaiah. Then God rescued him and helped him by means of angels; freeing him from the idol and giving him victory over his enemy by the blessing of Mohammed. Moreover, God restored him to his kingdom and he repented most thoroughly.

Another indication of his prophetic office. One of the prophets of the Children of Israel was named Obadiah, which means, "servant of God." He went out on his pilgrimage, and found the Jews dwelling in the land of the Hijâz; they entertained him as their guest, but he wept bitterly. So they (p. 12) said to him, "What makes you weep, O prophet of God?" He replied, "A prophet, whom God will send from the Arabs, and whom the angels will help, will lay waste your houses, take

<sup>1</sup> Sa'îd has confused Ahab and Jeroboam.

<sup>2</sup> I Ki. 13<sup>2</sup>.

your women captive and make your children orphans." Then the Jews sought to kill him, but he fled.

Know this: When the Sea was divided for Moses, and Pharaoh and his army were submerged while the Children of Israel went forth on the other side, then God revealed himself to Moses on the side of the Mount (Sinai), saying, "O Moses, tell the Children of Israel to wash their garments, purify their bodies, and withdraw from their wives for three days, for I will reveal myself to them." And when it was the morning of the third day, behold, the Earth was shaken and the mountains were laid low. Then God appeared, saying in the Hebrew language:<sup>1</sup> **אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם**.

This is the interpretation: I am the Lord thy God who have brought thee out of Egypt; thou shalt not serve any God beside me, for I am a jealous God. (p. 13) Thereupon all the Children of Israel died. Then God brought them to life; and they said, "Hear thou, O Moses, the word of God, and speak to us, for we are not able to hear the speech of God lest we die." So God made a covenant with them, in thirty-six compacts, that they should follow the *sunnah* of Abraham, their grandfather, and that they should take neither idol nor crucifix nor image; and they accepted the covenant upon this condition. Then the earth was quieted and the mountain was raised up from them. Thereupon God commanded Moses to tell the Children of Israel to return to their families, but he commanded Moses to draw near to him. So Moses remained in the Mount forty days. And God threw the tablets on the ground; and there was written on the first tablet, "I am God thy Lord"; on the second, "Thou shalt not serve any god besides me"; and on them was written the rest of the Ten Words. In the Torah it is written that the tablets are the workmanship of God and the book is the writing of God. When Moses went down [from the Mount] with the tablets in his hand and found the Children of Israel worshipping a golden calf, he threw down the tablets, (p. 14) and the earth was split open and swallowed them up. Then Moses killed every one of the Children of Israel who had worshipped the Calf.

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<sup>1</sup> Ex. 20<sup>2</sup>.

Another indication of his prophetic office is, that when Jacob went forth a fugitive from his brother Esau, he saw in his sleep a ladder raised from earth to heaven,<sup>1</sup> and it had five steps. He saw also in his sleep a mighty people ascending on that ladder and angels helping them and the gates of heaven opened. Then his Lord appeared to him, saying, "O Jacob, fear not, I am with thee, hearing and seeing. Express thy wish, O Jacob." So he said, "Lord, who are those ascending on that ladder?" God replied, "They are the offspring of Ishmael." Then he said, "Lord, how have they drawn near to thee?" And God replied, "By the five prayers which I have imposed upon them, by day and by night; they have accepted them, and they act accordingly." So when Jacob awoke from his sleep he imposed on his offspring the five prayers. Yet God did not impose on the Children of Israel any prayer in the Torah, but only offerings which they should offer. This story is in the first book of the Torah, after the story of Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac. (p. 15) But the Children of Israel and their learned ones have not ceased praying the five prayers, following the custom of their ancestor, Jacob; and the prophets of the Children of Israel have not ceased to preach the appearance of Mohammed and to swear by his life and to desire to be in his time, and when the hidden things shall be disclosed to them, to see his people drawn up in prayer like lines of angels. Moreover, Samuel the prophet has made a proverb for this, saying: "וּפָרָה יָרֵב תַּרְעִינָה וְנִמָּר" *Ufrah yarib tar'einah v'nimar*. This in the interpretation: The lion and the wolf shall come together in one feeding place; the leopard and the kid shall dwell harmoniously in one place. The meaning of this is that king and poor will be equal in the ranks of those who pray. And verily the learned men of the Children of Israel and their prophets have ordained the matter for them in their prayers, making entreaty therein unto God Almighty by Mohammed, and desiring to be in his time and see his days.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that which is written in the book of Ezekiel. God said with his own tongue

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. 28<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 11<sup>7a</sup>, <sup>8ab</sup>.

in the Hebrew language:<sup>1</sup> **הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ בּוֹ (פ) בְּחִירִי רָצָתָה** **נִפְשִׁי עָלָיו נָתַתִּי רוּחִי בּוֹ מִשְׁפָּט לְגוֹיִם יִצְיָא** (p. 16). This is the interpretation: Behold my servant, the one chosen by me, the son of my beloved. I have chosen him and sent him to the nations with trustworthy wisdom. As for his saying, "my servant," Mohammed was addressed as one who was in the service [of God]; as for his saying "son of my beloved," God called Abraham "beloved" in the Torah, and Ishmael God called "beloved." Moreover, God taked with Abraham, saying in the Hebrew language: **קַח אֶת בְּנֶךְ אֶת יְחִידְךָ אֲשֶׁר אֶהֱבֶה**. This is the interpretation: Take thy son, thine only one whom I love, and offer him to me for an offering. So this verse points to the fact that the sacrificed is Ishmael, from the text of the Torah, because Abraham had no "only-one" execept Ishmael. For it was after this ooccurrence that the angels announced to him [the birth of] Isaac, and Abraham loved only Ishmael.

Another indication of his prophetic office was given when the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was sent. Now his mission was in the [time of the] second temple, for the first temple, the holy house which Solomon son of David had built, Nebuchadnezzar destroyed, and (p. 17) propheey was eut off with the destruction of the first temple. It remained a ruin seventy years. After that, a king called Cyrus rebuilt it, and it remained prosperous 480 years after its erection; and in it appeared the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary—upon him be most excellent prayer and peace. He lived in a time of wise men and philosophers; he cured those who were blind, and the lepers; he made the dead live, by the permission of God, and he made clay into the form of birds. Moreover, they gathered a tribnnal, and the wise

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 42<sup>1</sup>. Like many of his predecessors, Sa'id applies this verse to Mohammed. He tries to show that the "only son" whom Abraham was going to sacrifice was Ishmael; Isaac was not yet born. The original Hebrew text of Isa. 42<sup>1</sup> makes **עָלָיו** follow **רוּחִי**, and connects **בּוֹ** with **אֶתְמָךְ**.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 22<sup>2</sup>. Note the significant change from the Hebrew **אֲשֶׁר אֶהֱבֶה**.



men of the Children of Israel united together against him. Then one of their learned men who was called Simeon Ballakish<sup>1</sup> stood up against him and said, "We believe not in thee, and we agree not with thee in what thou hast claimed and in what thou hast brought; because Moses informed us in his law, on the authority of God Almighty, that the prophet sent in the last time should be of the offspring of Ishmael, but thou art of the Children of Israel. And this is the saying of the Exalted One in the Torah:" וְלֹא קָם נָבִיא עוֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמֹשֶׁה. This is the interpretation: There shall not arise among the Children of Israel one like Moses. So they decreed the death of Jesus, and killed him (according to their assertion, and the assertion of the Christians). They [the Christians] also denied him; and the denial of the Messiah by the Christians is more grievous than the denial by the Jews, because they agree that the hand through which nails were driven was the hand by which the heavens and the earth were created; and there is no sort of unbelief worse than this. They also picture him in their temples (p. 18) crucified, nailed, and the children of the Jews stoning him with stones.

Know that as for the Christian religion, its followers do not at all regard the *sunna* of the Messiah nor his religious law, but they follow the *sunna* of the kings who were unbelievers among the Children of Israel, those who broke the covenants of God and pictured for themselves images and likenesses in the churches, on account of which came the destruction of the kingdom of the Children of Israel. For verily because of a single picture which was painted in the house of Solomon son of David, although he did not know it, God wrested from him the kingdom. Also because of a single cross, the army of Joshua, the successor of Moses, was routed three times. But the Messiah did not ordain for them the making of pictures nor of crucifixes. But they have quoted from the Messiah in their Gospels, those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that he allowed them dead things, and blood, and swine's flesh. But

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish, the celebrated Palestinian teacher, who lived in the third century A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 34<sup>10</sup>.

God forbid that the Messiah should have had anything to do with this! For he said,<sup>1</sup> "I came not to destroy the law of Moses, but I came to fulfill it." And the law of Moses forbids dead things and blood and swine's flesh. They have quoted also from the Messiah in their Gospels that he forbade circumcision, but circumcision is the *summa* of the prophets and it was the *summa* of Abraham before them. It is also enjoined upon the Children of Israel in the Torah, and this is a proof of their having changed the Gospels which Jesus brought.

Know (may God Almighty direct thee) that I have repeatedly studied the four Gospels, but I find in them no mention at all of Mohammed, as he is mentioned in the Torah and in the books of the prophets. This, too, is a (p. 19) proof of their having changed the Gospels which Jesus brought.

Know also that Moses remained in the desert forty years; and in the thirty-ninth year of their exodus from Egypt God spoke to Moses, commanding him to gather from the elders of the Children of Israel seventy men, and go up with them to the Mount. So Moses did this, taking the chiefs of the Children of Israel and the heads of their tribes; and he went up with them to another mount. Then God revealed himself to Moses in an appearance mightier than the first. On that day there were earthquakes, lightnings and thunders, eclipses and great fear; and all the nations in all the rest of the universe trembled at this. Then God spoke to Moses, saying, Speak to the Children of Israel:<sup>2</sup> **אָרָר הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה פֶסֶל וּמַסֵּכָה**. This is the interpretation: Cursed is he who makes a cross or image; cursed is he who worships them; cursed is (p. 20) he who allows this among the people. Then God talked with Moses about this matter; and all the Children of Israel said Amen to it. So Moses remained in the Mount forty days, and the tablets which he had thrown on the ground came down [again from heaven], and on them were written the Ten Words. And when Moses went down with the tablets in his hand, no one was able to look at him, so God commanded him to put on a veil and to put the

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 27<sup>15</sup>. Our Massoretic text reads **פֶסֶל**, without the *dagesh*.

tablets in the ark of the covenant.<sup>1</sup> And he put with them a copy of the Torah in his own handwriting, for God commanded him to go up the Mount to his death.

Another indication of his prophetic office is this. When Moses went up to his death, he asked God to show him the peoples up to the day of the Resurrection; and when he saw Mohammed and his people this verse was set down in the Torah:<sup>2</sup> **אֲרָנִי מִסֵּנִי בָּא וְיָרַח מִשְׁעִיר הוֹפִיעַ מֵהַר פָּאֵרֶן וְאַתָּה** **מֵרַכְבֶּת קֹדֶשׁ**. This is the interpretation: God came from Sinai, and shone forth from Seir; he revealed himself from the mountains of Paran, and appeared from among his holy myriads; at his right hand light, and at his left hand fire; to him the peoples assembled, and unto him the nations came together. The wise men of the Children of Israel, the commentators of the Torah, (p. 21) comment on this, and explain that the fire is the victorious sword of Mohanmed, and that the light is his law, which guides aright.

There is the saying of the Exalted One in his great book:<sup>3</sup> And remember when Moses said to his people, "O my people, remember the favor of God to you, since he hath placed among you prophets and hath made you rulers and hath given you what he hath given no other nation in the world. O people, go in to the consecrated land which God hath appointed for you, and turn not your backs, lest going astray ye perish." But the Children of Israel went into Syria, and their kings were the prophets Joshua, David and Solomon. In the rule of the son of Solomon, the kingdom of the Children of Israel was divided. They were unbelievers; they killed the prophets and broke the covenants of God. And one of their kings who was named Jeroboam was the cause of their unbelief. Moreover he was a tyrant and a philosopher. Now Alhidr was present one day at his court, and heard him say that Moses said in his law: "If ye break the covenant of God, then the heavens will hold back

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "ark of the shekinah" (**שְׁכִינָה**).

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 33<sup>2</sup>. The citation omits **לְמוֹ** after **מִשְׁעִיר**. So also above (Ms., p. 6, line 11).

<sup>3</sup> Sura 5<sup>23-24</sup>.

the rain and it will not rain, and the earth will withhold the vegetation and it will not grow." Then Alhīḍr stood up and said,<sup>1</sup> **הִי אֲדֹנִי אִם יֵשׁ טֶל וּמָטָר כִּי אִם לִפִּי דְבָרִי**. (p. 22)

This is the interpretation: By the power of God, dew and rain shall not come down except by the permission of God Almighty. Then the king desired to kill Alhīḍr but God hid him from him. Both dew and rain were withheld for three years, and the people perished on that account. After this, Alhīḍr came into the king's court and asked him to summon the priests and learned men. So there gathered to him four hundred men, and he asked the king for two calves of the herd. Then Alhīḍr said to the priests, "Choose for yourselves a calf and slaughter it. Put firewood on it, and call upon your gods, and I will do the same with another calf. Let me call upon my Lord, and do you call upon your god and whichever god's fire comes down and devours the calf, he is the god whom we will serve." So the priests slaughtered their calf, and put firewood on it; they asked help of their gods, but they did not give heed to them. Then Alhīḍr began to scoff at them and to say: "Arouse your gods from sleep; let them not sleep nor be distracted from you in their journey. Call upon them with a mighty voice; peradventure they will hear you." And Alhīḍr took his calf, slaughtered it and put it in a ditch. With it he put water instead of firewood, and he stretched out his hand, saying:<sup>2</sup>

**עֲנֵנִי אֲדֹנִי עֲנֵנִי הַיּוֹם יִדְרַע כִּי אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים**. This is the interpretation: Help me, (p. 23) O God, to-day. Let it be known that thou, thou art the God, and beside thee there is no God at all. And he had hardly completed the speech when fire came down and devoured the calf and licked up the water. Then the Children of Israel fell prostrate, saying, "Allah is our God; there is no god but he." Thereupon Alhīḍr slaughtered the priests with his own hand in the pit, and the rain came down. Yet the king did not turn from his unbelief, but desired to kill Alhīḍr; but God hid him from him.

<sup>1</sup> I Ki. 17<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The O. T. Hebrew has **יְהִיָּה**.

<sup>3</sup> I Ki. 18<sup>27</sup>. The original Hebrew reads: **עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה עֲנֵנִי יִדְרַעִי: הָעָם הָיָה כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים**.

Another indication of his prophetic office is that when the temple was laid waste, Nebuchadnezzar returned to his kingdom and saw in his sleep an image;<sup>1</sup> its two feet on the earth and its head in the heavens. Its head was of gold, its breast and forearms of silver, its belly of copper, its thighs of iron, and its two feet of baked clay. And he saw the heavens opened, and lo, an angel in whose hand was a sword. He cut off the golden head, and the image fell and was broken to pieces; and its two feet rose up above the rest of the body. Now when Nebuchadnezzar awoke from his sleep he summoned Daniel, who was his vizier, and told him the dream. Then Daniel said: The golden head, it is thou, O king; and the silver, they are thy children [who shall rule after thee; the copper, they are kings] who shall rule after thy children and be called Kosroes and Emperors and those like them of the kingdom of the Greeks. And the baked clay, they are kings who shall appear in the last time and be the most glorious of the nations. (p. 24) Their words shall be exalted among the rest of the peoples, even as the baked clay was lifted up above the rest of the image. The angel who came down from the heavens and cut off the golden head is the prophet sent to all the nations; he it is who shall purify the earth from the worship of idols. The confirmation of this is that the king will perish. And Daniel had hardly completed his words when the earth was rent and swallowed up Nebuchadnezzar.

Another indication of his prophetic office and of the truth of his law is that which comes in the book of Abraham. The Exalted One said:<sup>2</sup> O Abraham, take four birds, four of the herd, and four wild beasts. Then he commanded him to divide every one of them into two halves; but he commanded him not to divide the birds. He also commanded him to call them. So Abraham did this, and they came to him eagerly, alive, and as they [originally] had been. Then God said to Abraham, "Thus I bring the dead to life and raise whoever is in the grave." The wise men of the Children of Israel say in explanation of this passage, that the kinds of beasts are the peoples who preceded the appearance of Mohammed; they who have

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Daniel 2<sup>31</sup> ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. 15<sup>9-10</sup>.

perished, and whose kingdom has been divided. [They say also] that as for the birds previously mentioned, it is an allusion to Ishmael and his offspring, who will neither perish nor separate till the Resurrection day.

(p. 25) Another indication of his prophetic office and of the truth of his law is that which is written in the book of Ezekiel.<sup>1</sup> When he went out on his journey, he found a great cemetery, and in it were bones decayed and crumbled. So he stood still, grieved in his heart and wondering how these bones should return to their former condition. Thereupon God Almighty spoke to him, saying, "O son of Adam, say, 'O bones, O decayed, O crumbled, hear the word of God, for he says to you, Come together one part unto another.'" And when he had finished his speech, behold, the cemetery was shaken; the bones came together; the sinews were stretched; the veins and the fluid-bearing tissues were commingled, and the skin covered them. Then God said to him, "Say, 'O spirit, go into them.'" As he said this, they immediately rose up, standing and shaking off the dust from their faces and heads. And they bore witness that there is no God but Allah, he is alone, and has no partner; and that death is true but life is vanity. Then they said to their prophet, "Are we in the world or in the Resurrection which has come?" He replied, "Nay, ye are in the world." And there were some who sought death and returned to death; but others entered the city. This occurrence was in the time of (p. 26) Jeroboam, the king who was an unbeliever. And he saw this mighty sign, yet he did not turn from his unbelief. Moreover he was a philosopher.<sup>2</sup>

Another indication of his prophetic office is that his name in the Torah is **מֵאֵד מֵאֵד**,<sup>3</sup> and in the books of the prophets, **יֵאֵשִׁיָּהוּ**.<sup>4</sup> Now the wise men of the Children of Israel who comment on the Torah explain this. Some say, Very, Very; others say, Ahmed, Ahmed; still others say, Great, Great. And as for him who says Much, Much, it is an homonymous

<sup>1</sup> Ez. 37<sup>1-10</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Jeroboam, "a philosopher"!

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 17<sup>20</sup>. Part of a prophecy relating to Ishmael.

<sup>4</sup> I Ki. 13<sup>2</sup>.

expression; that is, it signifies Great, Great. But there has not appeared of the offspring of Ishmael one mightier than Mohammed. His name in the books of the prophets is **יְהוָה**.

This name is one of the names of God Almighty and it is not applied to anyone else but Mohammed.

Know that the length of the kingdom of the Children of Israel was 852 years. Of that time, for 700 years they followed the code of Moses, and every king who attacked them perished, as did Sennacherib and other kings. Then after 700 years their kingdom was divided, and Jeroboam was raised up as king in the city Damascus. He made images and likenesses; he stopped the pilgrimage to the temple, and gave orders to kill whoever should make a pilgrimage to it. (p. 27) Then war broke out between him and the son of Solomon, son of David. Nine tribes and a half tribe of the Children of Israel followed with this king, and he was given the victory over the son of Solomon. In the first battle fought by the two armies more than 800,000 of their number were killed. But war did not cease among them; civil wars and the sword continued for 152 years. This king also killed the prophets and burned the law of Moses.<sup>1</sup> After that, God sent Nebuchadnezzar. He burned the temple and killed (aside from the blood of Zechariah) 84,000 nobles, and scattered the people through the earth. The temple remained in ruins for seventy years. During that time appeared the Samaritans; they created a law of their own and traced their lineage back to Moses. In this time also appeared the *Ḳarrā'ūna*<sup>2</sup> who believe that *Ezra*<sup>3</sup> is the son of God. They are the people who dwell in the land of the *Hijāz*. Then, after seventy years, appeared a king who was called Cyrus. He built the temple and the Jews gathered unto it. It remained prosperous for 480 years, and in that time appeared the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary. Now the cause of the destruction of the first house, which Solomon son of David built, was their breaking the (p. 28) covenants of God, their making images and likenesses, and their killing the prophets. The cause of the destruction of the second house, which Cyrus built, was the disagreement of their learned men about the essence of the Creator, about his attributes and about his word, and their denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary.

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 36?

<sup>2</sup> The Karaites.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sura 9<sup>30</sup>.

There is disagreement in regard to the word of the Creator. Some say, "without word or voice," and others say, "with word and voice." But the cause of this is following the philosophers and belief in their Way; for they believe in the pre-existence of the world, and this is the great mistake which has brought them down to the lowest of the low. For they are ignorant about the Existing and the Creation and the Creator; they are ignorant of the truth of prophecy and of the high ranks of the prophets; they deny the Creator and nullify his power; and their intelligence stops short at the material universe. Moreover Plato and Aristotle, their great men, are too weak to understand the truth of the body, so how is there any way for them to reach the knowledge of the word of the Creator? But the prophets have pierced the veil; they have communicated with the unseen world and have brought tidings on the authority of God Almighty, that he created the world from nothing with a power with which impotence was not mixed, and with a might to which weakness was not joined. And this is the beginning of the Torah, the saying of the Exalted One, **בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא**,<sup>1</sup> (p. 29) which means, God created the world from nothing.

Know that philosophy is an ancient Way, and its people have separated into sects. Among them are the Dahariya, who do not believe in a Creator; others are the Halāliya, still others are the Unitarians; some believe in the pre-existence of the world and the [consequent] limitation of the power of the Creator; and others are the Šābians, who worship the stars. All the philosophers believe in the pre-existence of the world, not empty and not full; and they put the God of the world inside the firmament. They are enemies of God and of the apostles. They are the ones who laid the foundation for the worship of idols; they fashioned pictures and likenesses; they made temples<sup>2</sup> and pyramids; and their great men claimed divinity, as Nimrod son of Canaan, and Pharaoh. So when this appeared and was disclosed, the Creator was jealous for his essence, and sent the apostles with signs and proofs and wonderful miracles to show

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic word, **بَيْتَة**, is the transcription of a Coptic word, and is applied to Egyptian temples.



the nature of his being. And when God sent Moses he said to him, "Pharaoh will not believe in thee, for I have chosen to multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt." This is in the Hebrew language: 'למען רבות מופתי בארץ מצרים'.

In answer to the (p. 30) belief of the philosophers, namely, in the pre-existence of the world: Know that by this world I mean the firmament and what it includes. It is as one corporeal form; its exterior is simple and its soul and interior are compounded in their divisions, and composed of substance and form. In it are those who have knowledge, as animate things, and those who have no knowledge, as inanimate objects. And it is an absurdity that this should come into existence of itself, because of the complexity of its essence; and it necessarily follows from this that some other has created it. Now its coming into existence is possible only in one of four ways:

The first possibility is that its existence was derived from substance which was eternal and form which was eternal. And this is an absurdity in reason and divine law and nature, that any being should actually exist as substance without form or as form without substance; and if they say that 'primitive matter' had existence, then its existence was ideal, not real; because ideal existence is not the cause of the really existing thing; rather, the really existing thing is the cause of the ideal existence.

The second possibility is, that its existence, I mean that of the firmament and what it includes, is from substance which was eternal and form which had not previously existed. This idea some of the theologians adopt, for they say that the Agent is living and powerful and willing. They also affirm to him the rest of the attributes, and make him do with substance what he wishes, and make in it a form which did not exist. (p. 31) But this idea is worthless for two reasons. One of them is this: It is necessary that the Agent should have materials, just as the builder builds a house from parts of the house previously prepared, such as plaster and stone. The other consideration is, that substance would be associated with the Agent in eternity, and if he had wished to get along without it he would not

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<sup>1</sup> Ex. 11<sup>th</sup>.

have been able. But God forbid that he should have a partner in his kingdom; he is too high and too great for this!<sup>1</sup>

The third possibility is, that it came into being from substance which had not existed and form which was eternal; but it is absurd that any actual thing should subsist in nothing.

So it necessarily follows and results, because of that which the speculative, argumentative analogy necessitates, that this existence of the world, by which I mean the firmament and what it includes, is from substance which had not existed and form which had not existed. This is the 'nothing,' the idea of which all the prophets and apostles brought.

Know (and may God direct thee to his obedience) that the prophets are diversified, in spite of the importance of their condition and their high rank. Some God addressed in their sleep; to others God spoke in revelation or from behind a screen; and another is he who is always in the presence of the Holy One.

Know that (p. 32) Solomon, son of David, made a parable. He told of a sleeping man, who saw in his sleep a person who had died some time previously. That dead person spoke to the sleeper in his sleep and informed him of hidden things, by lip and tongue and word and voice, although lip and tongue and word and voice were not there. So when the sleeper awoke from his sleep, he told all that the dead person said to him, by lip and tongue and word and voice. Then the prophet said that the trustworthy vision is one of forty-six parts of prophecy. And among men there is he who sees dreams and believes that he is awake; but prophecy is greater than the waking [vision], beyond all comparison.

Know (and may God Almighty direct thee to his service) that I was one of the learned men of the Children of Israel, but God bestowed Islam upon me. The occasion was this: I became ill and a physician was attending me. The shroud of death was prepared for me, when I saw in my sleep one speaking who said, "Read the sura *Al-hamd*;"<sup>2</sup> then you will escape death." So when I awoke from my sleep I immediately sought one of the

<sup>1</sup> Sura 17<sup>46</sup>.<sup>2</sup> Sura 1.

trustworthy Moslems. He was my neighbor, and I grasped his hand, saying, "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah, he alone, and he has no partner; and I bear witness (p. 33) that Mohammed is his servant and apostle, whom he has sent with guidance and the true religion, to make it triumph over every religion." And I began repeating and saying, "O strengthener of the heart, strengthen me in the belief!" Then when I entered the mosque and saw the Moslems in rows like ranks of angels, a voice within me said, "This is the nation concerning whose appearance the prophets preached good tidings"; and when the preacher advanced clothed in black hair-cloth, great reverential fear came over me. And when he struck the pulpit with his sword,<sup>1</sup> his blow shook all my limbs. Now the preacher at that time was Ibn Al-Muwaffak, on the border of Alexandria. When he said, at the end of his sermon,<sup>2</sup> "Verily God commandeth justice, well-doing and giving unto your kindred; and he forbiddeth wickedness, iniquity and oppression. He hath warned you; it may be that ye will remember," and when the prayers began, I was greatly moved, because I saw the rows of the Moslems like rows of angels, and God revealing himself as they bowed in prayer and as they prostrated themselves. Then a voice within me said, "If the revelation of God came to the Children of Israel twice in the course of time, then it comes to this people in every prayer." Then I was convinced that I was created to be a Moslem only; and my conversion to Islam took place in the beginning of the month Sha'bân, in the (p. 34) year 697.<sup>3</sup>

When I heard the Koran in the month Ramaḍân, I saw in it so great eloquence and such skill of speech that a narrative which is given in the Torah in a score of pages<sup>4</sup> is given [in the Koran] in one or two verses; and this is great eloquence. No one is able to produce a single verse like it. Thus, for exam-

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<sup>1</sup> In the villages which Islam conquered by force, the preacher on Friday carried a wooden sword or staff during the khutba (Goldziher in *Rev. des Ét. J.*, vol. xxx, p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Sura 16<sup>92</sup>. The second of the two sermons, which is called the *Khutbat an-Na'at*, addressed to the community on Friday by the Khaṭīb from the top of the minbar, always ends with this verse from the Koran (Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> May, 1298 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, in two *kurrāsas*.

ple, the saying of the Exalted One: And remember when Moses said to his people,<sup>1</sup> "O my people, remember God's favor to you, in that he appointed prophets among you and made you kings and brought to you what he brought to no one else in the universe. O my people, enter the holy land which God hath bequeathed to you, and turn not your backs, lest ye go astray and perish." This story is written in the Torah in a score of pages.<sup>2</sup> Now when God commanded them to enter the holy land they demanded of Moses that he send them directors. So he did this for them, and they chose chiefs from every tribe. Everyone of them was named by his name; and among them all were Joshua and Caleb; they are the two men whom God has mentioned in his great book.<sup>3</sup> There is also given in the Torah a description of their entering the holy land, and what happened to them regarding the fruit of the land, and what they experienced with the Amalekites. And the Children of Israel sought to (p. 35) stone Moses, but clouds came between him and them. On this occasion was revealed the verse:<sup>4</sup> "And verily it shall be forbidden to them for forty years." So they disobeyed Moses and marched to Syria. But the Amalekites went against them and routed the Children of Israel, whereupon Moses interceded through Mohammed.

Concerning the saying of the Exalted One:<sup>5</sup> "And we only sent the apostles as preachers and warners." Know that the Torah and the books of the prophets announced all that happened in the kingdom of the Children of Israel before its fall, and that they warned and cautioned against the coming of rebellions at the end of 700 lunar years of the Hijra of the prophet, because of what they have altered and changed and substituted in the word of God Almighty, and because of their denying the prophecy of the Chosen [i. e., Mohammed], and their denial of the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, and their making pictures and likenesses in the churches. That is why God laid waste the kingdom of the Children of Israel. But God promised his servants, the prophets, the removal of the pictures and likenesses from the synagogues and temples. And he promised the king by whose hand this removal should be

<sup>1</sup> Sura 5<sup>23</sup>, 24.<sup>2</sup> Literally, in two *kurrāsas*.<sup>3</sup> Sura 5<sup>26</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Sura 5<sup>29</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Sura 6<sup>48</sup>.

brought about a peaceful kingdom, long life, continuance of power and the submission of the kings of the earth to him. The evidence of this and its proof is that at the end of the recorded periods which the books of revelation indicated, namely, at the end of the 700 lunar years from the (p. 36) Hijra of the prophet, God laid waste the synagogues of the East by the hand of the king Ghâzân.<sup>1</sup> So Ghâzân overcame the troops of the Moslems. But when the Moslems returned from their rout, God inspired them to close the churches; and they closed them according to the noble and pure Moslem law. Then the Moslems went forth to meet their enemies at Shaḩḩab,<sup>2</sup> and God gave them the victory.

And with the Children of Israel this was invariably the case. It was thus through all the course of their kingdom. When they made pictures and likenesses they were routed by their enemies; but when they effaced them, they conquered their enemies and their kingdom was quiet.

Now when the Moslems returned, having been rendered victorious over their enemies, the temples were opened and the oaths were nullified. When I saw this, zeal for God Almighty came over me and fear for the Moslems and for their kingdom at the completion of 700 solar years.<sup>3</sup> So I set out and went forth with a petition for the forming of a council to consider the belief in God Almighty, in which there should be ten of the learned men of the Jews and ten Christian priests, in the presence of the learned men of the Moslems and in the presence of the king; and in their hands should be the Torah, the Gospels, the Psalms and the books of the prophets; and that I should make clear what they had changed and altered and substituted

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<sup>1</sup> Ghâzân Khân, a Mongol prince, converted to Islam in 1295 A.D., and forthwith oppressing the churches and synagogues. As he did this in 1295 (695 of the Hijra), Sa'îd's statement is not strictly correct.

<sup>2</sup> The historical narratives indicate the place of the decisive battle sometimes as Ghabâghib, sometimes as Shaḩḩab (Goldziher, *ibid.*, p. 10). The date of this battle is Apr., 1303. The context shows that Sa'îd believed that the Moslems were victorious because they had closed the houses of prayer of the other beliefs after their first defeat. See also the introduction, above.

<sup>3</sup> This can only be  $622 + 700 = 1322$  A.D. The author fears that the Mohammedans will not be able to preserve their supremacy up to that year, if they do not close the temples of the other beliefs.

in the word of God Almighty; also that I should explain and prove the prophecy of the Chosen (and he is (p. 37) Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Abdal-Muttalib) from the Torah, the Gospels, the Psalms, and the books of the prophets; and that I should establish from their books the reasons, the proofs and the arguments for the abolition of pictures and likenesses from the synagogues. Now when this was proposed, assuring to Al-Malik An-Nāṣir all that God had promised by the tongue of his prophets and apostles, then the Muftis gave their decision unanimously [saying], "This man approaches God Almighty in a most excellent proximity, and his help in this matter is needed for him who has charge of it." Moreover the Imāms of the religion consented to assemble this council, and the delegates of the king six times gave written permission to assemble it in Egypt and Syria—but it was not assembled. There is no recourse nor strength except in God the exalted and mighty. Verily we belong to God and unto him we shall return.<sup>1</sup>

Know that all that I have put into this compendium is of that, which is written in the Torah and the books of the prophets; but I have collected it, put it in order, and translated it from the Hebrew and Aramaic languages into the clear Arabic language in which spoke the lord of the first and the last. I have made it a delight for those who will look into it, and I have often named it '*Al-Muḥīṭ*,' for it encompasses all the foundations of the exact sciences, the covenants of the faith, the counsels of the [true] religion, the standing-places of the multitude and the paths of the few.

May God bless our lord Mohammed, his family and his friends and give them peace !

This book was composed in the Mosque of the Bani Omayya at Damascus the capital city, in the 12th of the first Rabī', in the year 720.<sup>2</sup> And praise to God, Lord of the worlds; and may God bless our lord Mohammed and his family and friends, and give them peace. God is sufficient for us and he is an excellent reliance. There is no recourse nor power except in God Almighty. The End.

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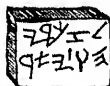
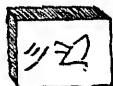
<sup>1</sup> Sura 2<sup>161</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> April, 1320, twenty-two years after his conversion.

*Two New Hebrew Weights.*—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

# 1. A UNIQUE HEBREW WEIGHT.

LAST winter, while in Jerusalem, I was one day looking over a lot of old coins, which a dealer brought to me, and had the good fortune to find among them a unique Hebrew weight. It is inscribed in old Hebrew characters similar to those on the Hebrew coins of the Asmoneans and the Jewish revolts. It is made of a brassy kind of bronze, and differs in form from any which have been hitherto described. As the accompanying drawings show, it is an irregular cube.



It is  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an inch long,  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch wide, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch thick at one end, and  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch thick at the other. Its weight is slightly more than  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grams, being 120 grains. Its original weight was probably a little greater, since at three different points bits of the bronze have been nicked from the edges, though the amount of bronze thus removed is too slight to make much difference.

The inscription on one side is :

לִיכָרְהוּ יָאֵר, "Belonging to Zechariah [son of] Yaer (Jaer)." Here, as in the case of several inscribed objects from the Shephelah, the word בֶּן is omitted.<sup>1</sup>

It would be interesting could we ascertain something of the history of the owner of this weight. He probably lived at a later period than any of the 27 Zechariahs enumerated by Wellhausen,<sup>2</sup> or the 29 enumerated by Macpherson.<sup>3</sup>

The legend on the other side of the weight is much more difficult. While I present below three possible solutions of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pl. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Encycl. Biblica*.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*.

riddle, I have no great degree of confidence that any one of them is right.

The second and third of the three letters are clearly ' and ם (מ), but concerning the identity of the first there is some question. It has a very close resemblance to the form in which the letter ך appears in many inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> but it also bears a close resemblance to ך as that letter appears on some of the coins of John Hyrcanus.<sup>2</sup> One hesitates, however, to positively regard the letter as a ך, because this form of the ך does not appear on all the coins even of this monarch. Indeed more often the letter assumes a different form. The fact that the ך is written on some of the coins of Hyrcanus in a form similar to the letter on the weight proves the possibility that ך is the correct reading in our legend. Taking the letter as a ך it is a very tempting interpretation to read [ךה ילמךךש] i. e. "10 gerahs of the sanctuary." There are, it is true, some objections which may be urged against this interpretation, but, if we were sure that our first letter were ך, none of them would, I think, be insuperable.

It may be urged that in the Old Testament passages, which mention gerahs as the fractions of a shekel of the sanctuary, קדש, not מקדש, is used for "sanctuary." On the other hand it should be noted, that מקדש as a synonym is also used in the Old Testament itself.<sup>4</sup>

The use of ' as a numeral, which this interpretation assumes, is paralleled by the use of the first letters of the alphabet as numerals on coins which were formerly assigned to Simon, the Maccabee.<sup>5</sup> If with able numismatists we assign these coins to the revolt of 66-70 A. D.,<sup>6</sup> they still come from a period very

<sup>1</sup> See the "Schrifttafel" in Lidzbarski's *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, and Cook's *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pl. xii.

<sup>2</sup> See Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, 1 ed. p. 54; 2 ed. p. 78. I have observed the same form on some of the coins.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ex. 30<sup>13</sup>, Lev. 27<sup>25</sup>, Nu. 3<sup>47</sup>, 18<sup>16</sup>, Ezek. 45<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ex. 25<sup>8</sup>, Lev. 12<sup>4</sup>, 21<sup>12</sup>, Nu. 10<sup>21</sup>, 18<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, 1 ed, pp. 43-45, and *Encyc. Bib.* col. 4446.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kennedy, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii, p. 424 ff., and Hill, *Encyc. Biblica.*, cols. 4446 ff.



near to the date of our weight, and possibly contemporary with it.

Reading each of the three letters of our enigma as above, we might fill out the abbreviation as follows: [ג'ר]מ[ל]י[ר]ה, "10 gerahs of the king," following the analogy of stamped jar-handles found in the Shephelah.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation does not seem to me as probable intrinsically as the first. In favor of the first interpretation is the fact that the dealer who brought me the weight says that it was picked up by a boy on the Ophel near the Haram, or temple-area.

If, now, the first of these letters be a ג, —a view which will, perhaps, seem more probable to some epigraphists,—we should then, probably, fill out the abbreviation as follows: [ל]פ' [מ]שקל, or "according to the (standard) weight."<sup>2</sup> In support of this reading one may cite the use of לפי in the Marseilles inscription, l. 18, and in Numbers, 26<sup>44</sup>. It would be parallel to לקבל on a bronze lion-weight inscribed in Aramaic.<sup>3</sup>

In so difficult a matter one should not dogmatize. To me, however, it seems slightly more probable that we have in this object a ten gerah weight.

## 2. A NEW ג'ר WEIGHT.

Through the same dealer there came to me a second weight. It is, as the drawings will show,



of the same type as weights found by Dr. Bliss in the Shephelah of southern Palestine.<sup>4</sup> It is of the same general shape,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Torrey, who takes the letter for ג, suggests this reading.

<sup>3</sup> See Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, pp. 107 ff., 188 ff.; Bliss and Macalister's *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 145 ff.; Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, iv, 25 ff.; and Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, iv, 904.

though it approaches more closely to the section of a perfect sphere than one of Dr. Bliss's, and is not, like another of his, perforated. It is made of reddish gray marble, and bears on the top the legend **נצח**, i. e. **נצח**, which the discussions of a decade or more ago have made so well known. It weighs  $153\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The dealer knew nothing of its provenance.

*A New Collation of the Blau Monuments.*—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.








WHEN in London in the summer of 1902 I had the opportunity, through the courtesy of Dr. Budge, to examine and collate the Blau Monuments. As my sojourn in Palestine, where no adequate Assyrian library was accessible, has intervened, it has been impossible to present the results of this examination before. As the publications of the text of these objects have hitherto been made from Dr. Ward's squeeze and photographs, I approached the originals with considerable interest. This interest was increased by the fact that the archaeologists in London regard the objects as forgeries.











It must be admitted that the appearance of these objects is against them. The workmanship is poor, reminding one somewhat remotely of the workmanship of forgeries which are frequently offered for sale in and around Jerusalem. This may, however, mean no more than that it is imperfect workmanship, and if these objects are as old as the writing upon them would indicate, crude workmanship might well be found in objects which were not forgeries. It must be remembered, too, that at the time when Dr. Ward saw these objects, (early in 1885), writing as archaic as that of Sargon was little known to Assyriologists, and it is hardly thinkable that characters as primitive as those on the Blau Monuments should be forged before they had become sufficiently known to give objects thus inscribed a value. When one remembers that out of 43 signs on these objects 35 have been identified as early forms of well known signs, leaving but 8 uncertain,<sup>1</sup> one must conclude that, if these objects are forged, the signs were taken from objects which were genuine, so that in the absence of the original they merit our careful study.

The variants from the text, published from Dr. Ward's photographs in the "Notes" just referred to, are as follows :

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*, and my "Notes" in this *Journal*, xxii, 118 ff.

Monument A, Obverse, Col. iii, 1. 3 , instead of . The sign had not been identified, and this change of form does not help us. Reverse 1. 2, read  instead of . Is  a *gummed* form of , later ?

Monument B, 1. 1, read     instead of   followed by a blur which, following Ménant, was taken for the name of the god Nin-gir-su.  is, of course, the later , and  is probably , and to be read as a phonetic complement of the preceding sign. Interpreting according to II. Rawlinson, 42, 42b, it would mean "bright." The four signs would then mean "the Lady of the bright dagger," being, probably, an epithet of some goddess.

*Further Notes on Automatic Conflagrations, the Hindu  
Method of Counting, and the Period of Pregnancy.—*  
By the Corresponding Secretary, E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

At the last Meeting of the Society were read, as part of the annual correspondence, certain letters relative to points touched upon in previous communications made to the Journal by the present writer. Since then other notes or letters have been added concerning the same subject matter. Rather than have this material presented in separate secretarian reports, it has seemed best to bring it all together, as follows:

**AUTOMATIC CONFLAGRATIONS.**

In this Journal, xx., p. 217, attention was called to the parallel between Thucydides' account of a conflagration caused by the wind, igniting the branches of trees, and similar accounts in Brahmanic literature. Subsequently a Buddhistic parallel was sent to the writer by Professor Lanman, viz., Jātaka iii. 510 (10-11): *dve sākḥā aññamattānāṃ ghaṭṭesun, tato dhammo uppajji, aggicūṇṇāni patissu*. Then an Arabic parallel was furnished by Professor Moore, who cited Lane's Arabic Lexicon, p. 2705, as follows: A certain Abū-Ziyād says: "There is no tree that surpasses the *marḥ* in yielding fire. Sometimes these trees are clustered and tangled together, and the wind blowing and striking one part of them against another, they emit fire and burn the valley." "This quotation," says Professor Moore, "is taken—which Lane does not note—from the *Tāj-al-ārūs*, vol. ii., 278. Freytag identifies the tree with the *cynanchum viminalis*." At the writer's request Professor Torrey has kindly looked up this questionable identification and given it as his opinion that it is a mistake on Freytag's part. Professor Torrey writes (after saying that there are other similar quotations): "The identification with *cynanchum viminalis* is probably mistaken. Niebuhr, cited by Dozy, says that the *marḥ* is an *asclepias* (*asclepias ignivoma*); see his *Description of Arabia*, Amsterdam, 1774, p. 142."

As to the physical possibility of the occurrence (which, if proved, might bear on the question how man obtained fire in some localities), the testimony of Rev. Richard Taylor may be added. He asserts, on p. 367 of his delightful *Te Ika a Māui*, that the friction of branches in a gale has caused trees to take fire. He does not say of what sort are the trees; further, the locality is given only by the rather vague addition "in the New Zealand forests." In modern India, bamboo-stalks are said to catch fire in this way; but whether this be true the deponent knoweth not.

### THE GAṆḌĀ METHOD OF COUNTING.

A letter from Dr. Grierson, apropos of the Sanskrit number eight, animadverted upon in the First Half of vol. xxiii., this Journal, gives an interesting account of how natives of India count by fours, which Dr. Grierson recognizes as the base of enumeration: "In counting coins, sets of four, i. e., *gaṇḍā*, are always used. The heap of coins is spread out on the table, and the counter puts each finger of the right hand on a coin, and draws the four coins toward him, and says "one." Then he draws another, and says "two," and so on up to four *gaṇḍās*, making sixteen, if he is counting for a native, and up to five *gaṇḍās*, making twenty, if he is counting for a European or a banker. The sixteen or twenty rupees are then put into a pile, and four of these sixteens, or five of these twenties, are grouped together. Under English influence the "twenty" is superseding the "sixteen" system everywhere. The five piles of twenty make up a hundred, which is of course convenient.

"So also in all other counting, the basis is either the *gaṇḍā* or the *kuṇḍī* or score. "Sixty-four" is sixteen *gaṇḍās*, and eighty is four score or else a score of *gaṇḍās*. Similarly the weight called *sēr* varies from place to place. In each place it is said to be so many *gaṇḍā*, the *gaṇḍā* in this case meaning the weight of four *pice*."

Dr. Grierson draws the conclusion that "the basis is certainly four, i. e., the four fingers of the hand." Fick, it will be recalled, says of *aṣṭāu*, octo, that (as a dual) it indicates the number eight, from the root *as*, *oś*, "be sharp," as "the two

points of the hands, made by (extending) the fingers" (excluding the thumbs). Sixty-four and eighty (thousands) have always been typically big numbers in India.

#### DURATION OF PREGNANCY.

In regard to the statements made in this volume of the *Journal*, First Half, above, p. 19, concerning the months of pregnancy according to Vedic and Epic reckoning, Dr. Grierson writes (under date of Nov. 11, 1903): "It may interest you that natives of the present day compute the period of pregnancy as lasting ten lunar months. Cf. Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, vol. I., p. 233, note. It is curious, however, that in folksongs of the east of Hindostan, we over and over again find the phrase 'eleven months + eleven days' as the period of pregnancy. When I read your article, I tried to-day to find an instance, but failed, but, all the same, I am certain of the fact. It is one of the commonplaces of such poetry. I was never able to find an explanation of it. Heroes, of course, have portentously long periods before they are born. This is a stock piece of folk miracle. For instance, *JASB.*, xlvii. (1878), Gōpīcandra was born eighteen months after his father's death, and was put into his mother's womb as a seven months' foetus, so that he was a twenty-five months' child. Note that twenty-five is two-and-a-half times ten. This is a common multiple to indicate superlative excellence. Have you met anything like eleven months + eleven days in the *Mbh.*?" To this question the writer replied negatively, suggesting also that  $11 + 11$  was due simply to raising by one (so in his opinion the  $3 \times 11$  gods were originally  $3 \times 10$ ), as in  $10 + 1$ ,  $100 + 1$ , etc. (by no means confined to inauspicious application), and was happy to receive (under date of Jan. 2, 1904) another communication from the same kind friend, in which further references were given; for the period of ten months and ten days, *JASB.*, xlv., p. 213 (for other numbers, cf. p. 216); and for nine months ("in the tenth"), *ib.*, liv., p. 45, all repeating popular modern notions. In this letter Dr. Grierson agrees that " $11 + 11$  is what you say,—viz.  $10 + 10$  raised one for the sake of perfection." As to the bearing on what was said above, p. 19, "it is a question of locality or popularity only; in many cases a "month" was thirty days; in other cases

it was a moon, not quite twenty-eight days, though reckoned as full twenty-eight," the persistence of tradition seems to support this view. "India," says Dr. Grierson, in the letter just cited, "never changes, and much that is difficult in Sanskrit can be explained from the modern vernacular literature." Certainly, the genial author's note on Tulasī Dāsa, JRAS., 1903, p. 464, where the "shouting frogs" are compared with Brahmanic students, the noise of the latter "exactly resembling the noise of a school of frogs," is another good illustration of the latter part of this claim. But as to the former, if India never changes, how has India changed so much?



*The Economic Study of Religion.*—By Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, Philadelphia.

THE purpose of this paper is to discuss briefly the relation of the present study of religion to social science, and to suggest, if possible, some methods of approaching the problems of religious development from the point of view of the social scientist.

In attempting to characterize the scientific study of religion, one is puzzled at the outset with the usual difficulty of comparatively new subjects, indefiniteness of nomenclature. Three distinct branches of study at present go by the name of science of religion; distinct in character, though somewhat similar in subject matter. The first analyses religious experiences with a view to determining the place of religion in the mental life of man; the second applies various criteria to religious concepts to test their ultimate truth; the third traces the growth of creeds and cults in order to formulate laws of their development. From one point of view these are branches of psychology, philosophy, and history, respectively. As such two of them at least are recognized as special studies, under the names of the psychology of religion and the philosophy of religion. The third, the effort to give an empirical explanation of how religious beliefs and institutions came to be what they are, is much less sharply defined. One might suppose that this would stand by itself as essentially the science of religion. And yet as a matter of fact it is rarely, if ever, found without a considerable mixture of psychological and philosophical enquiry. The majority of text-books on the science of religion concern themselves with problems that belong to all three studies.

The study of this historical aspect of religion, as distinguished from the psychological or philosophical problems, may surely be rightly regarded as one of the social sciences. Not only is it at the same time social and scientific, but its connection with the already recognized social sciences is extremely close. The general study of human institutions necessarily overlaps the study of religious institutions. For the religion of a community is not something unrelated to its secular activities any more than

the religious experience of an individual is apart from his general mental development. This intimate connection of religion with life makes it necessary for the student of religion to compare his data at every point with those collected in other fields, if he would understand their full significance.

It is important, however, while recognizing the close connection between religious phenomena and the whole of human life, in order to understand that connection clearly, to distinguish between what is religious and what is not. At first glance this might seem to be a very simple task. But there is a whole region of debatable land that causes much confusion. Among primitive peoples there is the question of magic, in more advanced times the series of mythology, science, philosophy. Can these rightly be regarded as belonging to religion?

Modern scholars generally maintain that the progress of mythology, science, and philosophy, the whole development of speculation as to causes, represents a course of intellectual development and not an evolution of religion. And yet the evolution of belief is bound up with the evolution of religion. Belief is an essential part of religion and is affected by the religious sentiment.

We cannot say that belief *is* religion, still less that religion is, as Mr. Jevons claims, a faith in a personal God.<sup>1</sup> Nor can we admit that any one of the well-known definitions of religion which recognize only one of the elements of religion is correct. These three elements, as has been indicated by Tiele, are belief, conduct, and emotion. Spencer, Arnold, and Max Müller, respectively, make religion consist of belief, conduct, or emotion, and Tiele himself makes emotion the foundation of religion. Dr. Jastrow, however, rightly insists that religion contains three elements: 1) the natural recognition of a Power or Powers beyond our control; 2) the feeling of dependence upon this Power or Powers; 3) the entering into relation with this Power or Powers. Frazer and Lang recognize only belief and conduct as essential.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer, *First Principles*, p. 37; Arnold, *Lit. and Dogma*, p. 18; Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*; Tiele, *Science of Religion*, ii, p. 15; Jastrow, *Study of Religion*, pp. 65, 171; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2d ed., i. 68; Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 69.

But all three of these are necessary to constitute a religion. There must be a theory of causes that are ultimate to the mind of the believer, a theory not indifferently assented to, but one that arouses in the religious man strong emotions, which prompt him to actions supposed to be appropriate to the belief.

How far then has the science of religion to deal, on the one hand with the history of speculation, and on the other hand with the growth and decline of magic and the development of standards of morality? We have found, I believe, a serviceable criterion of elimination. If we recognize the necessity for the combination of all three elements to constitute religion, we can cut out, on the theoretical side, all speculations which are for mere interest or for practical purposes and which do not affect ideals of conduct, and on the side of action, all standards of morality and all practices and customs save those sanctioned by the people's ultimate beliefs.

And now perhaps we are in a position to bring out more clearly the distinction I tried to make above between the province of the social science of religion and that of the psychology of religion. It is with creeds and cults that the former has to deal, with the external manifestations of religion, which are readily classified under the two elements of belief and of conduct. While it recognizes the emotional element, it properly leaves the detailed study of it to the other branch of the science. For the whole question of the origin, nature, and development of the religious emotion is so bound up with the problems of psychology that it takes a specialist in that branch to handle it.

Besides serving to mark out the field, the distinctions I have here emphasized between the various elements of religion, distinctions which every one recognizes to a certain extent even if he does not use them, are necessary within the historical study itself. Lack of practical application of them has led to a great tangle, noticeably in regard to the origin of religion. I am speaking of origin, of course, in the historical sense of beginning, and not of the psychological question discussed by Tiele of what in the fundamental constitution of human nature makes man religious, nor the metaphysical question of whether religion is a purely human product or a dimly perceived revelation. When we ask what is the origin of religion, we should have a clear understanding as to whether we are referring to religious belief,

custom, or instinct. For these did not necessarily spring into being united, but may have had widely different origins, although we cannot fairly call them religious until they are in some way connected. If, for instance, we are in search of the origin of the religious instinct, our problem is, what was the primitive instinct in man or animal out of which the religious emotion developed, and at what point may we fairly call it religious? Another distinct problem is the origin of religious observance. The great difficulty has been that various writers have seized upon the beginning of one or another element and thought of it as the origin of religion.

What has been called the origin of religion by men like Spencer, Frazer, and others, who account for it by the ghost-theory, magic, or fetichism, is, accurately speaking, the origin of belief. They ask what was the first belief, out of which all others developed.

Even with the most careful distinctions, however, this whole question of the origin of religion is so enveloped in prehistoric haze, that it seems almost a waste of time to attempt to solve it in the present state of human knowledge.

As to the origin of belief, was there any one original belief out of which the many differentiated? and if so, have we any means of finding out what it was? If there was such a belief, it must have been when man became differentiated from the apes, and before there was any variation within the species. For after mankind is divided up into separate groups, a difference of beliefs is inevitable. Have we any evidence to show what the first differentiated men's belief was? or indeed whether they had any at all that could be termed religious?

However this may be, the so-called "primitive" religions which we find described in sociological works belong to a very much later time than the *pithecanthropus* or even quaternary man. They belong to a time when the human species was already highly differentiated, the various parts living in different environments, and with generally different culture, if we may call it so. There is already a difference in beliefs, but at the same time a similarity in the beliefs of groups living in similar environments.

This similarity has led people to suppose that all religions start from some common belief, however varying they may

afterwards develop. Thinkers have seized upon one or another crude form of belief as the universal starting point. And much that has been written on the evolution of religion is merely an endeavor to trace survivals of such a belief through all more complicated forms. This is particularly true of Frazer's view of the function of magic, of Grant Allen's treatment of the cult of the dead, and Spencer's ghost theory.

Until anthropology and archeology have given us more facts to work upon, it seems probable that there will be little agreement as to the original belief. What can be done, however, with the material now available, what the spirit of modern investigation demands should be done, is to work out the formation of particular beliefs, and to discover the laws of their development. The development can be traced, in the first place, as affected by the environment of the people who hold those convictions, and in the second place as influenced by beliefs that grew up in previous environments of those same people. This should give us a general theory and a principle of growth applicable to all beliefs in all ages, which would, indeed, be of more practical value than the possibility of tracing faiths to a common origin.

A general law of development is needed before the science of religion can get beyond the descriptive stage. In biology we have the law of variability and survival of the fittest, which if anything is a principle of continuous development. What we want is a similar law for the evolution of religion, something that is more than a mere chronological and comparative description. And so far, however valuable in amassing material, and making possible closer study, the work of investigators has been, there has not yet been given anything, I think, that one could justly call a scientific law.

Mr. Grant Allen's book, "The Evolution of the Idea of God," is an attempt to demonstrate the theory that every religion had its origin in the worship of some dead man. He works out his idea by showing how it might have been reasonable for the savage to come to think of the dead man as a god, and by quoting facts that show that many savages actually did worship dead relatives and heroes. But so far as I can judge there is no principle of evolution. The development is logically possible, and in a number of instances apparently took place. But why?

Mr. Jevons, I think, comes nearer a principle of development in his postulate that primitive man's mind worked like ours according to the methods of inductive logic, although his beliefs were unreasonable from our point of view, because he misapplied that logic. But our principle of evolution should go farther and tell us why primitive man made certain mistakes rather than others, should account not only for the reasonableness of early beliefs, but also for their character. Mr. Jevons makes a luminous suggestion when he says that progress occurred only under certain favorable conditions. But I cannot find that he carries this out and tells just what were the conditions necessary to progress.

Still more exclusively descriptive is Mr. Frazer's method of explaining religious beliefs and customs. It consists chiefly in comparing certain rites in one country with similar rites in another, the inference being that if a rite has a known meaning in one instance we may take for granted the same meaning wherever it appears. That customs should be alike in countries far separated seems to Mr. Frazer a matter of course, and not, as it appears to many investigators, a curious phenomenon, itself requiring elaborate explanation. I do not find that he anywhere discusses this fact, which Mr. Lang has taken pains to account for by his theory that similar degrees of civilization bring forth similar religious ideas, and Max Müller by the postulate of a wide-spread borrowing. The theory which seems to be implied in Mr. Frazer's work, though nowhere explicitly stated, is that the natural constitution of human reason in the primitive stage led to a first conception of the relation of man to the world about him, that of sympathetic magic. Out of this developed a series of ideas in regular order, idea two producing idea three, and so on until we come to the modern complexity of religion. I have said above that Mr. Frazer nowhere explicitly states this to be his theory. And yet I think we must assume it if we are to put any order into his scholarly assemblage of comparisons. I could wish he had laid more stress on this point. Two of the fundamental problems that the science of religion must solve he hardly touches; he gives no real answer to the question as to why the manifestations of religion in far distant regions and widely separated periods should be so strangely alike, nor does he tell how we are to

account for the special differences which exist with all the similarity. What he has done is to bring together facts concerning beliefs and customs which have a strong resemblance to one another, explaining those that are not well understood by applying to them the meaning of the more obvious.

I have already referred to Mr. Lang's theory that the same stage of civilization will produce similar religious ideas in peoples widely separated. This theory has led him to emphasize the advantage of studying the secular and religious history of a people together. In "Myth, Ritual and Religion," he says that a systematic history of Egyptian religion, by which alone it could be perfectly understood, would have to be chronological, marking the rise and fall of various ideas, and guided by topographical and social conditions. His explanation of the cult of Osiris shows that he would include also political conditions. He maintains that the identification of Osiris with various animals worshipped in different parts "could not but occur, in the long course of time, when political expediency urged the recognition of the identity of various local deities."<sup>2</sup> And in treating of Greek mythology, also, the effect of political change is insisted upon.<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. Lang, the immoral tales about Zeus grew up when Greece was attaining a national unity: as Zeus replaced the totemistic deities he took to himself their stories; and many of his amours were invented to reconcile the local belief in descent from animals by saying that Zeus, the father of all, had taken the form of those animals. Although his work is full of suggestions like these, and although he strongly advocates comparing religious and secular development, Mr. Lang has not undertaken it systematically himself. He has rested content with pointing out the way for others. And therefore he is not prepared to tell us why religious progress should go hand in hand with the progress of civilization, what laws govern their relation to one another.

These laws Dr. Jastrow hopes will be established by the historical treatment of religions, the salient feature of which "consists in the endeavor to treat facts in connection with the conditions under which they are produced, and likewise to trace the origin of religious phenomena to the conditions appropriate for their production."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (Ch. xv.)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> *Study of Religion*, p. 21.

If this study which Dr. Jastrow recommends were to be systematically carried out with reference to various religions; if the religious ideas of each period were to be related to the political and social, and, I would add, the economic organization, and if the results obtained for various countries and periods were to be compared, we should be well on our way to the discovery of a principle of development.

The problem which now confronts the historical study of religion is that of getting beyond the merely descriptive stage by discovering the laws which govern the formation of religious beliefs, the growth of religious institutions, and their relation to one another.

This problem may not be solved through social science; but before it can be solved I believe there must be a more careful investigation than has yet been carried out of the relation of religion to life, of the points where religion affects and is affected by political, social, and economic progress; it must be recognized that the historical investigation of religious beliefs and customs has rightfully a place in the study of society as a whole, that it cannot maintain an isolated position, but is intimately concerned with the problems of political and social science and of economics.

## II.

In the first part of this paper I have endeavored to reach a definite statement of the problem of the science of religion in its relation to social science, by means of a short study of the purpose and methods of a few well-known writers. That problem we found to be the discovery of a valid law, and its solution to lead us into a wider circle of human activities. In this second part I wish to break into that circle by taking a cursory glance at the relation of religion to one important form of human endeavor, the search for a livelihood.

There is a growing tendency among sociologists to turn to economics for an explanation of the higher forms of social activity. And some very suggestive hints have been thrown out concerning the influence of economic progress on religious development. Enough has been written on this subject, I think, to convince the general student that there is some connection between the two. But just how and why economics determine religion, and how in



turn religion affects economics, is too detailed a study to be carried out by the general student of social problems, and could be much more successfully accomplished by historians of religion<sup>1</sup> working in coöperation with students of social science.

I shall not attempt to go into this subject systematically. I shall merely bring together a few beliefs and observances, gathered at random from various sources, having evidently some connection with the manner of life of the people among whom they originated. We may gain from these at least an impression of the relation that exists, and may be able to point out some methods of studying it at closer range.

We must, I think, acknowledge that our religious ideas are far from being the result of pure reasoning. We like to call ourselves rational beings, and yet we have to admit, as Prof. James observes, that "the logical reason of man operates in this field of divinity exactly as it has always operated in love, or in patriotism, or in politics, or in any other of the wider affairs of life, in which our passions or our mystical intuitions fix our beliefs beforehand."<sup>2</sup> Do these passions and mystical intuitions fix our beliefs by wild chance? or is there some law that governs their action?

It would probably come as a great surprise to most of us if we could realize how much utility enters into the forming of our opinions. The things that fit into a conscious need, the people who have helped us, are rated high in our most impartial estimates. Since this is true in lesser things, it is only natural that in the idea that most vitally touches a man's whole life, the idea of God, there should be an idealization of what is necessary to his welfare. The primitive hunter worships an animal god; the totemic tribe living by the seaside or by a river, a fish god; the agriculturist, the principle of fertility, or perhaps the very sheaves of corn themselves; pastoral tribes have their sacred cattle, or a god who is represented in the form of a bull or sheep. The idea of God tends to assume the form of whatever is useful to the community.

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<sup>1</sup> In writing of the religion of India Dr. Hopkins illustrates "the influence of utility on the theopoetic tendency as shown in settled and unsettled communities, respectively," and refers to economic conditions as a determining factor in religion, though, he says, "the application of this limitation must remain for specialists to make in their several departments." *India Old and New*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 436.

On the practical side of religion we find a similar effect of utilitarian influence. Those customs which are in themselves beneficial are given a religious sanction; moral ideas which are socially useful are inculcated, a particular kind of food which is growing scarce is either prohibited entirely, or, as is the case with the Damaras and Kaffirs (tribes who cannot afford to kill their cattle for everyday food), is made the center of a religious festival.<sup>1</sup>

These tendencies give us a starting point for our study. In tracing the relation of religion and economics, it is well to begin our interpretation of a people's faith by asking what is their chief dependence, and then looking to see whether an idealization of it has been taken up and incorporated into the religious ideas; and our interpretation of a custom by looking to the practical effect it has.

It is easy to see why even the most religious people's moral ideals are often inconsistent with their beliefs. They have grown up separately in different relation to economic needs, and are often so far estranged that even the most ardent desire for unity of life cannot harmonize them.

Yet the effort is made determinedly. It is made in the modern pulpit, it is made by the crudest savage. And although we must study creeds and cults separately, on account of their separate origins, we cannot ignore their close connection. An obsolete creed will often survive on account of the benefit society receives from the morality it inculcates; and *vice versa*, practices which are of no particular value often continue by virtue of their connection with some faith which still represents vital ideals. And it is curious how ideals of conduct that grow up independently because of their usefulness are adopted and justified to satisfy this craving for unity by a faith with which they have no real relation.

Society is too practical, however, to let the desire for consistency lead to what is injurious. Unification can go so far and no farther. Where an observance is harmful it will be dropped, even though it be the logical outcome of prevalent ideas.

These few hints may serve to show that the relation of religion to the life of a people is by no means a simple one. And

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<sup>1</sup> Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 318; Jevons, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

it is further complicated by the well-known power of religious conservatism, which enables both ideas and practices to survive long after there is any reason for them. Past methods and manners of life, the good old times, proverbially have their stronghold in religion. One phase of this spirit is a curious reluctance to make use of new inventions in religious rites. Mr. Frazer tells us that "to this day a Hottentot priest never uses an iron knife but always a sharp splint of quartz in sacrificing an animal or circumcising a lad."<sup>1</sup> And that—"In some parts of Swabia the Easter fires might not be kindled with iron or flint or steel; but only by friction of wood." Another aspect is the effort to keep an old idea, after its antagonist has taken firm hold, by remoulding and readapting it. Allegory is useful here. As Mr. Lang says, "That great stumbling block to Greek piety, the battle [in the *Iliad*] in which the gods take part, was explained as a physical allegory by the Neo-Platonists."<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the old religion finds a place in folk-custom, as the worship of the plough which survives in England in the customs of Plough-Monday. And sometimes the new religion takes up into itself the sacred things of the old. Saint Bridget, we learn from Mr. Lang, "succeeded to the cult of the fire-goddess and to her ceremonial";<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Grant Allen tells us that "The holy oaks of immemorial worship in England became 'Thor's Oaks' under Saxon heathendom and 'Gospel Oaks' under mediæval Christianity,"—a double adoption.<sup>4</sup> This force of conservatism warns us that we must be careful in relating ideas to their environment, to take into consideration past as well as present environments, lest we should find ourselves in the absurd position of some uninformed geographer who, finding negroes in America, should attempt to account for the type by local conditions.

Only in a simple society, isolated from the world, and one whose economic environment has for centuries remained the same, can we find a religion perfectly appropriate to the manner of life. However, I do not believe that the influence of conservatism is strong enough to prevent the general type of a religion from conforming to the type of society in which it

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<sup>1</sup> *Golden Bough*, Vol. i, p. 173, first edition (and so below).

<sup>2</sup> Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Vol. ii, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

exists. The connection, I believe, is always close enough to make it practicable to classify religions according to the civilizations that have produced them.

Dr. Jastrow has taken this point of view in his classification, which is a great advance over the familiar indefinite division into fetichism, animism, ancestor-worship, polytheism, monotheism. He puts all religions into four categories:

- I. Religions of savages,
- II. Religions of primitive culture,
- III. Religions of advanced culture,
- IV. Religions which emphasize as an ideal the coextensiveness of religion with life.

It will be observed, however, that after the first three stages Dr. Jastrow has shifted his standpoint and characterized his fourth class by the nature of the religions rather than the type of society. And for a practical working classification there is some objection to the elasticity of the terms savages, primitive culture, advanced culture.

A classification, not of religions, but of society as a whole, given by an economist, Dr. L. M. Keasbey, corresponds roughly in its broad divisions with Dr. Jastrow's three stages of savagery, primitive culture, and advanced culture, and defines more exactly the limits of each. In the first period, which Dr. Keasbey calls the "Natural State," he includes all the social groups in which there is as yet no "appropriation of natural resources for pastoral and agricultural purposes."<sup>1</sup> Men satisfy their wants by working alone or in coöperation, with simple tools as instruments of production. And wealth at this stage means welfare simply, and not the stock of goods contributing to welfare; things are desired for their use-value alone. Such groups would include the fruit and root gatherers of jungles and barren and arctic environments, the hunting and fishing villages of rivers and forests, the republican hunting clans of forests or plains, and the sea-fishers of oceanic islands. The second period, the "Proprietary," begins with pastoral and agricultural life, and develops the division into classes consequent upon the monopolization of the sources of wealth. There is a coercive organization of society, the owners of land and cattle being able

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<sup>1</sup> Keasbey, *Prestige Value*, *Quart. Jour. of Econ.*, May, 1903.

to compel non-owners to work for them. Wealth now means the possession of goods that give power; goods are desired not merely to satisfy personal wants, but also because of the prestige their possession accords; use-value is supplemented by prestige-value. The beginnings of this period are seen in the patriarchal herders of the plains, and the communal agricultural clans of fertile valleys; and its full development is found in feudal societies, early monarchies, and theocracies controlled by priests. The third period in Dr. Keasbey's scheme enters in with the "separation of employments, the institution of exchange, and the invention of money." It is the "Commercial Era," marked by the organization of society on the competitive system, and the measuring of things by their value in exchange.

One obvious advantage of a classification like this, for the student of religion who wishes to arrange the types of religions according to the civilizations in which they arose, is that there is a perfectly definite line of demarcation between the periods; proprietary control of the sources of wealth marks the division between the first and second periods; the use of money and gain of wealth by commerce, the division between the second and third. And within each period the subdivisions are as clearly defined; one readily sees the difference between a highly organized clan of hunters roaming about the plains in search of big game, and a village of fishermen whose only reason for being together is that the fish are best caught in that place.

If in adapting this scheme to a classification of religions there should be found a common characteristic in the religions of one period, and a close correspondence in the religions of peoples coming under the same subdivision, the vital connection between the form of religion and the economic organization would be established beyond a peradventure. Then there would still remain to students of religion the task of explaining this relation, of answering the questions, why? and how?

The few scattered instances which I can give here will by no means fill up the scheme. And they are so fragmentary that it is impossible in every case to fit them into this classification of society. I can only hope they may serve to suggest what might be done with a more thorough study, and to illustrate the way in which men idealize and bring up into the sphere of religion the things upon which they chiefly depend.

The instances I have collected belong to the first two periods. The commercial era is very little considered by writers on the science of religion, who thus far have chiefly confined themselves to less advanced civilizations. I shall give first some early conceptions of the deity, which are intimately connected with economic activities, and then touch upon the question of the social utility of religious observances.

The worship of trees is a phenomenon that has been made particularly familiar to us by the philological study of early European beliefs. Keary is one of the writers who has made a great deal of it.

Among the worshippers of forest trees were the ancient Prussians, the Druids, and the ancient Italians,<sup>1</sup> all reverencing the oak; the Swedes, and the Norwegians, who worshipped the ash and the elm; the Gilghit tribes of India, who adored a sacred cedar; and the Semites,<sup>2</sup> who worshipped as divine the evergreen oaks of the Palestine Hills, and also the pines and cedars of Lebanon. All these people were dependent upon trees in many ways; and it will be noticed that the kind of tree worshipped is in each case either the characteristic local growth or in some way of peculiar importance.

Sometimes the belief in the sacredness of trees was accompanied by an injunction not to cut them, and probably served as a sort of primitive forestry reservation. This was the case among the Samogitans of Lithuania, the Swedes, the Livonians of Russia, and the Italians, who spared a sacred grove on the Alban Mount. The same religious scruples cautioned the Roman farmer, who before thinning out a grove had to sacrifice a pig to the goddess of the grove.<sup>3</sup> And again the Miris of Assam "are unwilling to break up new land for cultivation so long as there is fallow land available; for they fear to offend the spirits of the woods by cutting down trees unnecessarily." And the Bechuanas regard it as a serious religious offence to cut the hack-thorn, which is very sacred, during the rainy season.<sup>4</sup> When considered in their practical results, such prohibitions are not merely superstitious and arbitrary, as they might seem at first.

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 58, Vol. ii, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Keary, *Outlines of Primitive Belief*, p. 57; Frazer, *op. cit.*, i, p. 106; Grant Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, i, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 63, 69; *cit. infra*, i, p. 62, ii, p. 320 f.

One may doubt whether forestry reservation can account for the refusal to cut down individual sacred trees, as in Sumatra and the Pelew Islands. In these and similar cases there is probably some particular local reason, and one would have to have more data at hand to hazard an explanation.

Among sacred trees, fruit trees have a place as well as the massive forest giants. It is naturally among fruit-growers that we find the god identified with fruit trees and vines. In Lacedaemon we hear of the fig-Dionysus, who was in general the patron of cultivated trees. "Prayers were offered to him that he would make the trees grow; and he was especially honoured by husbandmen, chiefly fruit-growers, who set up an image of him in the shape of a natural tree-stump in their orchards." Dionysus was patron of the vine in Greece as early as Homeric times. In ancient Italy, each vine-growing village had a Jovis, god of wine, worshipped at the wine feast in April. At Athens the cultivation of olives was an important industry, and accordingly the olive was sacred to Athena; while in Ephesus, also an olive-growing state, it was sacred to Artemis. The Arabians worshipped the date-palm, and the fig was one of the sacred trees of India. Perhaps the most striking instance of deification of the food tree is that of the Wanika of East Africa. The cocoanut tree is the chief source of food supply of these people. They believe that each cocoanut tree has its spirit. And so deeply is it held in reverence that to cut one down is regarded as matricide.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the horticulturist worships his food tree as the forest-dweller the tree that gives him shelter. Both are dependent on their trees, though in different ways.

The worship of wild animals, familiar to us as totemism, belongs distinctively to hunters, since these people's very life depends upon the animals they kill. Mr. Frazer defines totemism as "roughly speaking, the worship of wild animals—the religion of society on the hunting stage."<sup>2</sup> And Mr. Jevons also recognizes the connection of totemism and hunting so far as to say that all peoples in the hunter stage are totemists.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 149, 269; Lang, ii, pp. 218, f.; Jevons, p. 208; Frazer, i, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> G. B., ii, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Jevons, *op. cit.*, p. 127. [This statement, however, is not accurate; e. g. the Esquimaux, who are "in the hunter stage," are not totemists.—Ed.]

It is as a rule the animals themselves, either individually or as a species, that are worshipped. The Ainos of Japan, the Ostiaks of Northern Siberia, and the Gilyaks of Eastern Siberia are hunting tribes who consider all bears as rightful objects of worship.<sup>1</sup> Bears are also worshipped and hunted by the North American Indians;<sup>2</sup> while some tribes, such as the Utes, worship wolves.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the tribe refrains from hunting its sacred animal, as the Osages, who would not kill their brother, the beaver.<sup>4</sup> May this not be due to the same half-conscious utility which caused woodland people to spare their sacred groves?

The totemist claims descent from the animal he worships, and thus the clan is closely bound together in brotherhood, to maintain the unity of tribal life, the willing coöperation, and the subordination of the individual, which are necessary for their successful expeditions. This clan idea of totemism is the one particularly emphasized by Mr. Jevons, the brotherhood it inculcates of the tribesmen with one another and with the tribal totem.

One hears sometimes of fish-totems and plant-totems among people who are not wild animal hunters, but I think it would save confusion if we could keep the word for its strict meaning.

The so-called fish-totems and fish-worship of all kinds are naturally found among people who live on the sea-coast or beside streams, such as the coast-Peruvians, of whom Garcilasso de la Vega said, "On the sea-coast they worshipped sardines, skates, dog-fish, and for want of larger gods, crabs" . . . and they ate the fish they worshipped.<sup>5</sup> The same author elsewhere says of the Indians of Peru that they "adored the fish they caught in greatest abundance . . . for this reason they worshipped sardines in one region . . . in others the skate . . . in short they had whatever fish was most serviceable to them as their gods."<sup>6</sup> If Garcilasso de la Vega had been a modern economist he could not have made a more definite statement.

When we say that men worship the animals most useful to them, we are stating the positive side of the influence of utility. It must not be forgotten that there is also a negative, which

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, ii, p. 101, 105, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Lang, *Ibid.*, i, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Lang, *M., R. and R.*, i, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Lang, *M., R. & R.*, i, 57.

<sup>5</sup> Jevons, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 119.



leads to the worship of harmful animals, such as the snake, the crocodile and the shark. These also give names to clans and seem to have some of the attributes of totemic gods. Mr. Lang tells us that in Egypt Typhon, who took the shape of a crocodile, "was adored at various places where it was dangerous to bathe on account of the number and audacity of the creatures."<sup>1</sup> In Africa, the Negroes of Issajoo "regard the cobra-capella as their guardian deity, who can do them good or ill, bestow riches or inflict disease and death."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in this we may get a hint that will be useful in tracing the conceptions of evil spirits and malignant deities.

In general the worship of animals seems to support our contention that human nature reverences the "source whence all its blessings flow," nay, often reveres as gods the very blessings themselves.

When we find the hunter's god in the form of a wild animal, and the fisher worshipping his fish, we are prepared to look for sacred cattle among pastoral peoples. Nor are we disappointed. In Africa we find tribes totally dependent upon their herds. These Damarras, Bechuanas, and Hottentots have a truly pastoral religion, and hold their cattle very sacred.

Another element in the religion of these and other pastoral peoples is ancestor-worship. The family altar and prayers to dead ancestors are found among the Hottentots, Damarras, and the Zulus;<sup>3</sup> and in the Hebrew nation it is during the pastoral period that we find the Teraphim, which, according to Kuenen, were "larger or smaller images, which were worshipped as household gods, and on which the happiness of the family was supposed to depend."<sup>4</sup> Of course this cult of the Teraphim was not strictly ancestor-worship, but it was closely akin to it in its family aspect.

It might seem at first that ancestor-worship had little connection with herding, until one looks to the social organization appropriate to this sort of life. We have already noted among totemistic hunters two aspects of their belief, one, the animal-god, resulting from their feeling of dependence upon a certain animal, and the other the blood-brotherhood, growing out of

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *M., R. and R.*, ii, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, ii, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, p. 182; Jevons, p. 55, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Cited by Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

the necessities of organization. Among herders the unit is the family, and it is the father of the family who owns the cattle and rules supreme in his little kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Worship of ancestors would naturally predominate where family feeling is strongest, and where the head of the family holds the position of authority over a large number of dependents.

On this principle Mr. Jevons maintains that ancestor-worship begins with a settled agricultural life, because then first the family emerges as a distinct unit. "The organized worship of ancestors," he tells us, "is bound up with the patriarchate and the patria potestas." It is curious that in associating ancestor-worship with the patria potestas and highly developed family life Dr. Jevons should have limited it to agriculture, overlooking the family organization and typical patriarchate that goes with pastoral, even the nomadic-pastoral life. Indeed the patriarchate and ancestor-worship is primarily typical of herding communities. Where it occurs among agricultural peoples, it is rather among those in which herding and agriculture have been combined by amalgamation or conquest.

Such peoples were the Greeks and Egyptians, whose dependence upon cattle is reflected in their religions, in the sort of half anthropomorphic deities represented in animal form, such as the bull-Dionysus, or the ram-Apollo, or Demeter who was represented in Phigelia with a mare's head; and the black bulls, Apis and Mnevis.

Their dependence upon the fruits of the earth is no less idealized. Frazer describes how, "in one of the chambers dedicated to Osiris in the great temple of Isis at Philae the dead body of Osiris is represented with stalks of corn springing from it."<sup>2</sup> And in speaking of the religion of Eleusis, Jevons says, "like other primitive agricultural communities the Eleusinians worshipped the corn which they cultivated, both the ripe ear, the Corn Mother, and the green blade, or Corn Maiden."<sup>3</sup>

Examples are almost unnecessary since it is a truism to say that among agricultural people the gods are expressed in terms of agri-

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<sup>1</sup> See, in regard to the close connection between pastoral life and patriarchy, Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 202, 232, 265; Frazer, ii, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, i, p. 305; Jevons, p. 364.

culture. But it is not always realized how closely religion is connected with even the nature of the crop. In the Punjâb there is an altar near the sugar-cane press devoted to sacrifices to the sugar-cane god.<sup>1</sup>

Only in the beginnings of agriculture, however, as only in the beginnings of herding, is the actual object, the sheaf of corn or the individual animal, worshipped. With the domestication of animals and the planting of crops we have reached the generative sources of wealth, which mark the transition to the second or "proprietary" period of society, as Dr. Keasbey calls it. They mark also a striking change in religious conceptions. Wealth, the satisfaction of wants, is no longer reached by coöperative effort to obtain certain individual objects; it is bound up rather in the collective units of herds and harvests, and more than this, in those great invisible forces of nature which determine the increase of these. Thus the agricultural god becomes the spirit of fertility, or the still more remote giver of good grain, the pastoral god, the lord of increase, the chief patriarch and spiritual leader of the hosts, a conception which easily develops into anthropomorphic monotheism.

As among totemists and pastoral peoples we found aspects of their belief growing out of the necessary social structure, so we find a social origin of beliefs among agriculturists. With this proprietary period and its developed system of ownership, the notion of permanent sovereignty, as rightfully vested in a person or class, something quite different from the tribal leadership given to the chief of greatest prowess, becomes a vital force. We have already noticed how it led to ancestor worship in the patriarchate, where ownership was vested in the heads of families. In an agricultural community, the sovereign landowners, and the chief of these, whether priest or king, easily become surrounded with a halo of divinity, even the present living ruler often being worshipped as a representative of the great ones from whom he is descended.

In four great empires in which we find the supreme ruler adored as a divinity and claiming kinship with the gods, in Egypt, Peru, Mexico, and Japan, there are observable two striking characteristics: (1) they all have a well-developed

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, ii, p. 375.

agricultural civilization; (2) it is in each case the sun-god from whom the emperor claims descent. These characteristics would naturally go together, as agricultural communities almost inevitably worship the sun. And where the property is in land one is not surprised to find a deified ruler, since in such states, as chief landowner, he holds almost absolutely in control the welfare of his subjects.

One may put the proposition tentatively that the sacredness of either chiefs or priests holds a direct relation to their temporal power; the more social control a chief or priest has, the more is he accredited with divine attributes. I say chiefs or priests, for a priest may hold this position as well as a king. Indeed, it is sometimes hard to distinguish, except in name, the religiously sacred king from the politically powerful priest. Just to give one instance of the effect on the minds of the people of a pontiff's domination, Frazer tells of one of the priests of the Zapotecs in Southern Mexico, who was "a powerful rival of the king himself. This spiritual lord governed Yopaa, one of the chief cities of the kingdom, with absolute dominion." There is the antecedent, now note the consequent. "He was looked on as a god whom the earth was not worthy to hold nor the sun to shine upon."<sup>1</sup>

If we turn to European history, we see that that diluted form of ruler-worship, the doctrine of the divine right of kings, belongs essentially to the absolute monarchy and declines with the growth of constitutionalism. The political organization, of course, changes according to economic needs, and the doctrine has to follow. When a king is absolute and uncontrolled, the theory of his divine right seems justified by the facts. But no doctrine is strong enough to turn back the wheel of necessity. The king is limited by his parliament, and the divine right goes over to the people. *Vox populi vox dei.*

I do not believe that either in the absolute monarchies or the limited the idea of divine authority is fostered by a conscious utility, an effort to preserve the existing status. But the social structure must and will be determined by necessity. And when it changes, the belief that grew out of the old organization dies a natural death, though like all beliefs it dies hard and

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, i, p. 118.

holds on tenaciously in out-of-the-way corners; and a new belief grows up to justify the new order of things that has come about.

Thus the worship of the living hero-gods, as the worship of ancestors, grows out of the social organization. Side by side with the typical pastoral and agricultural gods, which originate directly in economic pursuits, there develop religious conceptions from the type of organization incident upon those pursuits. The patriarch and the sovereign lord of vast fertile lands are given control over their fellows by virtue of opportunities made for them in the course of the community's efforts to adapt itself to its environment. Being thus exalted, they are revered and even worshipped as gods. And this reverence paid them turns again to the advantage of the people, for it ensures social stability, makes permanent the type of organization best suited to their needs.

So far we have been able to trace a reflection of economic conditions in various objects of worship. But what can we say of stone gods, of those numerous idols and fetiches ranging from the medicine-man's charm to the elaborately carved monolith? This worship of stones does not seem to follow the same simple economic law as that, for instance, of plants and animals. In the case of the latter, where the same plant or animal is worshipped by different tribes, we are pretty sure to find a similarity of economic conditions. But stones are adored by all kinds of people and with no apparent reference to their utility.

It is most important to note in this connection that stones are worshipped as representatives or dwelling places of the deity, rather than as actual gods. And although sacred stones are found in every land, there is a difference in the gods these stones are supposed to represent. We must look then for our economic influences not in the fact of stone-worship but in its nature.

The Peruvians, worshippers of the sun, adored certain stones as representatives of the sun; in Canaanitish Syria a certain conical stone was regarded as the emblem of fertility; while in Tanna, New Hebrides, "Mr. Gray . . . found a piece of sacred ground on which were deposited the stones in which they supposed the spirits of their departed ancestors to reside."<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Jevons, p. 231; Allen, pp. 107, 196.

sun, fertility, and ancestors, characteristic objects of worship of these three peoples, are all associated with sacred stones. And stones are used to represent different gods even with a single tribe. Take for example this description of the Samoans' worship of stones picked up out of the river: "One resembling a fish would be prayed to as the fisherman's god, another resembling a yam would be the yam god."<sup>1</sup> Apparently the yam god and the fisherman's god already exist as deities in the minds of the Samoans, and the shape of the stone suggests its use as an embodiment or representative. A more artistic people would not wait for natural resemblances, but would carve an image.

The point I want to make is that the worship of stones, as that of stocks and images, in itself can teach us very little. The significant thing is the conception—that is back of the external embodiment. What does the god thus represented do for the people? If my general thesis holds, the answer to this question would express in each case the peculiar needs of the people, an idealization of the objects, forces, or qualities most important to them.

Like the worship of stones, the worship of natural forces, of wind, sky, weather, and the like, does not seem to belong to any one economic period. Mr. Jevons identifies it in one place with a herding life, but later shows that the agriculturist also has his nature-gods. He says: "There are several natural forces with which and on which the herdsman has to reckon; streams, fountains, clouds, the sky, the moon. In the pastoral stage man's interests have become wide enough to make him desire the coöperation of all these forces, and all, it is hardly necessary to remark, came to be worshipped by him in consequence." A little further on Mr. Jevons says that the agriculturist felt his dependence on the sun and earth, and seeking their coöperation added them to the list of deities.

This explanation of Mr. Jevons's<sup>2</sup> is distinctly economic, and is based on the theory, taken as a working hypothesis in this paper, that a feeling of dependence upon a certain thing leads to its worship. I am inclined to question, however, whether the dependence upon natural forces and their consequent worship

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<sup>1</sup> Allen, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Given in Ch. xvii of his *Introduction*.

is limited to herdsmen and agriculturists. While it is true that among agricultural and pastoral peoples we find a great deal of nature-worship, it is found also among such people as the Bushmen, who have no cattle and not the slightest rudiments of agriculture, but, like all people that live out of doors, they have an interest in changes of sky and weather. They address prayers to the sun, moon and stars, and regard the moon as a person whose hair is the clouds. This fact prevents us from accepting in full the theory that nature-worship originates in the needs of herders and tillers of the soil. It does not, however, disturb the general principle on which this theory is based; viz. that man, more crudely and obviously in the earlier stages of civilization, forms his concepts of divinity from his own particular needs. Therefore, as Mr. Jevons says, the herders and agriculturists worship the forces on which their herds and crops depend; and therefore, I would add, the Bushmen worship the sun, the moon, and the rain, which affect their well-being although they have no crops and herds. The only change we have to make in Mr. Jevons's theory is to enlarge the circle of those who depend upon wind and sun and rain.

We cannot limit nature-worship in general as belonging to any one period of economic growth. But there is one form of nature-worship that belongs to pastoral and agricultural peoples, and to them distinctively, that is the worship of the principle of increase as apart from actual natural objects. For it is to increase of cattle or of grain that these people must look for their very existence; if the fields and herds are productive they are prosperous, if not they die.

Stones and natural forces are not the only objects of worship which spread over more than one economic period. Another widespread worship is that of the source of success in man's own doings, the "gods of human activities," we might call them, sometimes referred to as departmental gods. Of these we cannot say that they belong to any particular period or people. But we can say that the activity deified shows the type of civilization, and further that it is the activities which it is profitable to that civilization to encourage that are given into the hands of departmental gods. For example, the Roman Mars, and all the war gods of nations that live by their military

prowess, are not more striking than the Mexican gods of commerce and of the pursuit of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

These gods are usually anthropomorphic, but they are not, like the human gods, actual dwellers upon this earth, mere mortals, who for leadership have been vested during their lifetime with a halo of divinity; or who as ancestors or national heroes have acquired it through the perspective of a dimly recorded past. Like the human gods, however, their worship grows out of the necessities of social organization, and is justified *ex post facto* by the benefits society receives from it. In this they differ from the gods men find in the outer world. We saw that the worship of natural objects, such as plants and animals, and of the generative forces of nature, arose in men's exaltation of the things that satisfied their needs, that men thought of their gods in the guise of the things on which their life depended. In the worship of human beings and of human enterprises, the belief is justified by its good results, for according to popular logic, ancient or modern, when a theory works well for practical living it must be true.

That practical values determine religious concepts is the explanation, I believe, of the correspondence between the type of civilization and the type of belief. These practical values determine beliefs in various ways. Men may embody in their concept of the deity the things on which they are peculiarly dependent, or they may exalt to the level of gods harmful things, such as alligators and serpents, which they dread; or again these practical values may influence beliefs indirectly by serving as a test of truth.

Naturally the worship of things good and evil in its crudest form was prevalent before there was any conception of natural law; when the savage thought of the various things that affected his welfare as animated by good and evil beings. Gradually, with the utilizing of the forces of nature in pastoral and agricultural life, there came a better understanding of natural causes, and these controlling beings were pushed farther and farther away into unknown regions and became more spiri-

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<sup>1</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 78. The Lithuanian "departmental gods" have lately been subjected to a rather destructive critique by Zupitza, in the *Journal of the Verein für Volkskunde*, 1901, p. 344.



tual. The final death-blow of these phenomenon-controlling persons came in the development of the industrial system, with its scientific discoveries and unifying tendencies culminating in the notion of the universal reign of law. This idea, it was predicted, would overthrow religion. But such has not been its effect. It has merely substituted for supernaturalism the theory of the Divine Immanence. What room, we may ask, has this left for utility as a determining factor in faith? The simple deification of the useful and harmful we can no longer expect. The influence of practical values on the most advanced religions is rather in the tendency to make human virtues that are useful to society, such as justice, kindness, truthfulness, attributes of the Deity, and in the tendency which exists now, no less than in earlier times, to judge a faith by its results rather than by its *a priori* reasonableness.

Up to this point I have been considering the theoretical side of religion, and have been trying to trace the relation of some of the various beliefs of mankind to the economic conditions in the midst of which they are produced. Interesting as this task may be, it is incomplete and one-sided, since there is no religion without a cult, no sincere faith which does not say to the believer, "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not." But I have left what few suggestions I have about the practical side of religion for separate consideration because, as I noted earlier, the explanation of rules of conduct is not to be found in the faith in whose name they are promulgated. If we would seek their origin, we must look to actual conditions rather than theories.

In some respects the study of religious observances is easier than that of religious ideas because there is less chance for conservatism to confuse the different periods. While there are no very disastrous results if a people's beliefs are more in harmony with an outgrown civilization than with the present one; in the question of conduct, if changed conditions demand new rules of action, the need is urgent and strong enough to break down any barriers of prejudice.

A difficulty, however, arises in trying to draw boundary lines. Broadly speaking, we are concerned here with all religious commands, whether ceremonial or ethical. From the point of view of the worshipper, the motive for these is the same, and the exhor-

tation to fasting, sacrifice, and prayer bears the same relation to religious life at one time as the preaching of honesty and kindness does at another. From the point of view of the student, however, there is a significant difference. Morality, the relation of men toward one another, is distinctly social, and its character depends upon the necessities of an organized community; whereas prayers and sacrifices may be observed by the individual alone, and be concerned with purely individual welfare. Thus morality begins with a stable social organization. Before this, human relations are merely those of the primitive family, for which a very meagre code suffices. A moral law sanctioned by religion develops only in a larger community.

Sometimes, it is true, the ceremonial law may become as social in its bearings as the moral law, as, for instance, in religious festivals and the coming together of the tribe for worship. But the moral law is in its very nature social. Even in the case of taboo, the savage shrinks from breaking taboo not only as an individual but as a member of society.

The great difference between taboo and morality is, as Mr. Lang has pointed out, that whereas with taboo the punishment is directly the result of the act, being brought about by the effects of suggestion, the consequences of breaking a moral law come not automatically, but because the gods are judges of men's conduct. But the common purpose of taboo and moral laws and their common effect on the social system makes it profitable to treat them in the same category. I do not mean to assert here that all taboos and all moral laws are socially useful. I maintain only that the condition of survival of a taboo, as of a moral precept, is its social utility.

In every group of human beings certain restrictions on individual preference are necessary in order that the group may survive, or in order that it may make the best of the opportunities the environment offers. These restrictions, garnished in the savage state with all sorts of half-understood imaginings, their sanction growing more reasonable as knowledge and civilization advance, form the basis of the systems of taboo and morality. Hence a certain type of morality will always be found among people of the same manner of life, that is, a certain type for all hunters, another for pastoral peoples, and still another for agriculturists; and in each case the virtues extolled

and sanctioned by religion will be those that are most needed in that sort of community.

With economic progress, the relationships to be adjusted by morality become more complex. At first there is only the relation of parents to one another and to their offspring; then with need to coöperate for production and to live together in communities, men must be adjusted to one another as equal individuals forming a tribal unit, as well as family groups; later with the division into classes brought about by herding and agriculture, there is not only the morality governing the relationships of the members of each class, but also the relationship of the classes to one another; with the commercial era comes the competitive system, breaking down old class distinctions to build up new ones, and bringing characteristic problems of its own.

In each period religion sanctions the rules of conduct growing out of the needs of the social structure. It cannot be ignored, however, by the student of history, that religion has often sanctioned not only what was good for society as a whole, but what was good for one class at the expense of another. When all men were free and equal, before agriculture and herding made it possible for a small number to monopolize a large proportion of this world's goods, the commands of religion restricted the individual for the sake of his own betterment and for the welfare of society. When property and power came into the hands of a few, the few were not slow to claim a divine right to it, and to support their position by inculcating the virtues of obedience, honesty, and submission in the minds of the many. Perhaps I may suggest that these moral precepts were accepted as authoritative because they assured stability to the social and industrial order which was best adapted at that stage to make the most of the environment. There have been abuses, but on the whole moral laws which had more than an ephemeral existence have been in the deepest sense serviceable to society as a whole.

In correlating morality and economic conditions, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between the problems of production and of distribution, and to show how rules of conduct have grown out of each of these. For example, in a hunting tribe the ideals of bravery, of obedience and loyalty to the chief, grow out of the exigencies of the chase; those of fairness and

honesty from dividing the spoil; and in our own times we have the morality of production in the ideals of conscientious thoroughness and reliability in work; the morality of distribution, not only in the command to respect property rights, but likewise in the exhortation to benevolence.

The study of ritual might profitably be approached in the same way, and particularly the important question of sacrifice. Much might be learned of the relation of sacrifice to production by asking such questions as, What do the people sacrifice? and what relation does it bear to the nature of the food supply? (for it is usually food that is sacrificed); and of the function of sacrifice in distribution by such questions as,—What is done with the sacrifice? is it utterly destroyed, eaten by all the worshippers, or given to a certain class, as the rulers or priests? I believe that in every case the sacrificial custom would be found to have a distinct social or economic value.

In this short space it would be impossible for me to go over the various familiar kinds of sacrifice, and even attempt to suggest the sort of economic organization they were associated with. But I should like to stop for a moment to consider one kind of sacrifice which seems to puzzle many students, the sacrifice by animal worshippers of the animal to itself.

Mr. Frazer and Mr. Jevons, among others, seem to think it unnatural for people to kill the animal they worship, and regard this sort of sacrifice as a difficult problem requiring some mystical explanation. The apparent inconsistency seems to have troubled also the pious totemists and herders themselves. And savages and sages vie with one another in inventing elaborate explanations and curious mystical doctrines.

The explanations given by the worshippers themselves are probably the outcome of the desire for unity and harmony in the religious life, which is familiar to everyone. Man likes to think his actions the result of his beliefs. And if he cannot make them so, he must in some way justify their apparent contradiction. Theorists often take this secondary justification as the cause of the action. Thus the difficulty with most explanations of this totemistic sacrifice is that the writers try to account for it on the basis of animal-worship, and so have to invent elaborate theories as to why the savage thought it a good thing to kill the god.

But if we give up the idea that the custom must be the logical outcome of the belief, and look for separate origins of each, the problem is much simpler. I think it will be found in nearly all instances that the animal worshipped is part of the food of the community. We can see in this fact a reason for both the worship and the sacrifice. The animal is worshipped because it is useful to the community, because they have a feeling of dependence for life upon it. And on the other hand, the animal is sacrificed because, again, it is useful. Sacrifice is the giving up of something really valuable to the worshipper.

There are two kinds of sacrifice of the animal to itself, which economically are to be sharply distinguished: the sacramental, in which the animal is eaten as a communion of the worshipper with the deity; and the piacular, in which as a rule the flesh of the animal is either destroyed or eaten by the priests, and entirely given up on the part of the worshipper.

In the sacramental sacrifice we find that the animal is the occasional and extraordinary food of the worshipper, as in the case of pastoral tribes, who cannot afford to kill their cattle often, and limit the eating of flesh to religious festivals. The idea of communion also serves to bring the tribe into a closer social bond.

In the piacular sacrifice, there is of course the supposed advantage to the worshipper that the sacrifice will bring forgiveness of his sins and avert the wrath of an offended deity. Is there, besides this, an unconscious benefit in the observance? I think there is undoubtedly. Incidentally, where the flesh of the animal is eaten by the priests, it is in this way that they are compensated for their spiritual services, and are at least partially supported. But more than this, the chief utility of piacular sacrifice is obtained even when the animal is destroyed. There is a moral benefit in that the need of sacrifice to atone for sin impresses the moral law forcibly upon the worshipper.

Sacrifice as we think of it technically, in the sense of placing material offerings on the altar, has had its day and passed into the archives of history. The spirit of sacrifice is still a vital element in religion, and still, through its disciplining force of self-denial, enables men to grow and advance. Nor has its distributive function fallen into disuse. Not offerings of food, now, but freewill offerings of money to purchase food, support

the clergy; and in the name of religion, how many schools, libraries, and benevolent institutions are supported. One main point on which our divergent sects unite is in preaching that religion impresses upon man his debt of material goods, time, and service to his fellow-man.

Thus in modern times an important part of ceremonial law has fused with the field of morality, the relation of man to man. There is a strong socializing of religion. To-day the most religious man is not the one most given to fasting and penances and church-going, but the man who for religion's sake grapples hardest with social problems.<sup>1</sup>

What remains of ceremonial law, or ritual, is prayer. I shall not attempt to analyse the value of prayer, but merely leave the subject with a suggestion of Prof. James's: "The appearance is that in this phenomenon something ideal, which in one sense is part of ourselves, and in another sense is not ourselves, actually exerts an influence, raises our centre of personal energy, and produces regenerative effects unattainable in other ways."<sup>2</sup> Prayer thus, in its effect upon the worshipper, has a distinct value.

In this brief consideration of some religious phenomena, I have treated separately the speculative and practical sides of religion in order to show their independent origin in human needs. Yet it must not be forgotten that while the union of these comes secondarily it does inevitably come. So that we have not isolated beliefs and observances, but religions; and if there is anything in the economic laws of thought, a definite type of religion as a whole for every type of community.

This religion, as soon as a group of men become sufficiently settled to be called a community, has its organization. And one of the most interesting problems of the sociological study of religion is the relation of this organization to the social and political structure.

Political changes of course affect religious ideas and religious organizations where there is a state religion, and the worship expands with the boundaries: as when Babylon became an empire,

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<sup>1</sup> To anyone who is interested in following up this socializing tendency, Peabody's "Jesus Christ and the Social Question," and Coe's "Religion of a Mature Mind" will prove suggestive.

<sup>2</sup> *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 523.

and the chief god of the city of Babylon, Marduk, was made the head of a pantheon, "extending his jurisdiction over a territory equal to Babylonian control,"<sup>1</sup> and as in the Pelew Islands where "each tribe and each family has its own totem god, and as a tribe develops into a state, the god of the family or tribe which is most important politically becomes the highest god."<sup>2</sup> We have a curious example of the change in religion incident upon change in tribal affiliation among the Fantis and Ashantis of the African Gold Coast. "The southern tribes of the Gold Coast, Fantis, form one confederation; the northern tribes, Ashantis, a rival and more powerful confederation. Each has its own federal god . . . and whenever a tribe revolts from the Ashantis, it renounces the Ashanti god, Tondo, and is admitted to the southern confederation by joining the worship of Bobowissi." The history of the Greek states also shows the effect of political expansion on the religious organization and religious ideas. "The political union of Eleusis with Athens entailed admission of all Athenian citizens to the worship of the Eleusinian goddess. But the Athenians thus admitted imported their ideas, religious and mythological, into the worship."<sup>3</sup>

In these few cases, we have been considering only state religions, where the religious community and the state were coextensive, and so it was a matter of course that to extend national boundaries was to increase the number of adherents to the faith. I believe that the effect of political change on the constitution and membership of the religious community will be found as real, if not as direct and simple, where the state is not the religious unit.

The old idea of history, perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in the philosophy of Auguste Comte, that one stage holds in itself the seeds of the next, which must inevitably follow, is fast giving way to the conception that like conditions produce like results, and that in different environments history will follow diverse courses, sometimes skipping two or three stages altogether. This historical theory makes one cautious in speaking of general tendencies. Whether it will finally hold or not in the form in which its supporters now present it, its results have been striking enough to make it worth while to study with

<sup>1</sup> Jastrow, *Study of Religion*, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Jevons, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Jevons, pp. 289, 370.

constant reference to conditions rather than sequence of development.

Accordingly when we find individual religions, state religions, religions to which only the men of the tribe are admitted, as in Australia, "free" religions, such as the Greek *thiassi* of the sixth century B. C., that grow up side by side with the nationally established cult, or, finally our own present ideal of a "free church in a free state," we should ask, not which came first, but under what political and economic conditions each one developed.

Along with changes in the organization of the religious community go changes in its leadership, the priesthood. The priesthood holds a certain relation to the social order as a whole. In a slightly organized community where there is social equality, the priest appears as medicine-man or sorcerer, self-appointed and holding office by virtue of his personal influence. Such a priest is found among the Fuegians, where equality is so perfect that "even a piece of cloth is torn in shreds and distributed, and no one individual becomes richer than another," only "the doctor-wizard of each party has much influence with his companions."<sup>1</sup> In the more coherent hunting clan, such as that of the Dakota Indians, it is the war-chief who is priest.<sup>2</sup> A more definitely organized priesthood arises with the beginning of the proprietary period. Among patriarchal people such as the Damarra of Africa, and the Homeric Greeks,<sup>3</sup> the patriarch is priest for the family, the chief or king for the state. And among people with a developed agricultural civilization, like the Peruvians and Egyptians, there is a distinct priestly class. This connection of the nature of the priesthood with the character of the state must be more than a chance one. To discover exactly what it is and what laws it follows is one of the problems of the social study of religion.

Such scattered instances as have been given here of beliefs and observances which apparently result from the people's life have led me to formulate tentatively the proposition with which I began the second part of this paper. It seems to be true that there is a tendency to idealize what is economically useful, to bring it up out of the sphere of economics and identify it with the deepest concepts of the religious consciousness; and that religion, again, gives its sanction to the form of organization,

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, i, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Lang, i, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Jevons, p. 290; Lang, i, p. 256.



the ritual and the moral precepts which have grown out of industrial necessities.

If any one objects to this theory on the ground that it makes religion a mere handmaid of material greed, I would remind him that we do not judge of the value of things by their origin. The theory has nothing to say about the truth of the ideas thus produced, nor of the rightness of the moral judgments. And, moreover, to say that religious concepts take the form of what satisfies men's needs is not to limit them to material satisfaction. Religion grows out of purely material needs only in earliest times, among savages whose wants go little beyond material necessities, and whose gods are crudely materialistic. Religion grows loftier in proportion as men's desires take a more ideal form.

I stated in the beginning that what the science of religion wants is a law of religious development which should have, like biological laws, the element of continuity. The principle I have suggested here meets, to a certain extent, I think, this requirement,—the principle that men tend to idealize and deify the particular things and qualities which are useful to people gaining a livelihood as they do; and that those customs are sanctioned by religion which are socially useful. The element of continuity comes in because only people who thus idealized the important factors of their civilization could make progress. Only such people could make use of the possibilities of their environment, and reach that high state of economic development on which civilization and culture and moral and intellectual progress depend.

It remains to be seen whether this principle will adequately explain all important religious phenomena. That can be tested only by a series of studies. In the first place, one would have to investigate thoroughly the economics, social organization, and religion of some primitive tribe to see the simple effect of the environment on religious development. Then it would be necessary to take some tribe or nation which had passed through several economic stages, and always allowing for the action of conservatism, relate at every point its secular and religious history. Finally, one would have to study tribes that have been conquered, or have amalgamated with other tribes, to know how conquest, proselytism, and imitation alter the regular course of development.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN BALTIMORE, MD.,  
1903.

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THE annual meeting of the Society was held in Baltimore, Md., on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Easter week, April 16th, 17th and 18th, in the Donovan room, McCoy Hall, of Johns Hopkins University.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions:

Arnold, W. R.	Ellicott, Mrs.	Jastrow	Rosenau
Atkinson	Ember	Johnston	Scott
Barret	Foote	Lanman	Seiple
Blake	Gildersleeve	Lilley	Solyom
Blaustein	Gilman	Littmann	Sundberg
Bliss	Gray	McPherson	Tierney
Bloomfield	Gutmacher	Moore, G. F.	Torrey
Bolling	Haupt	Oertel	Ward, W. H.
Carus	Hirth	Oussani	Wrightson
Collitz	Hopkins	Price	
Dennis	Hyvernât	Prince	[Total, 42.]

The first session of the Society began on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, with the President, Daniel Coit Gilman, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, held in New York, April 3d, 4th, and 5th, 1902, was dispensed with, inasmuch as they had already been printed and distributed.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by the Chairman, Professor Haupt, in the form of a printed programme. Sessions of the Society were appointed for Thursday afternoon at half-past two o'clock, Friday morning at half-past nine, Friday afternoon at three, and Saturday morning at

half-past nine. The session on Friday afternoon was set apart for the reading of papers belonging to the Section for the History of Religions. The University invited the members of the Society to a luncheon on Thursday at one o'clock, in the Dillmann Library. President Gilman invited the members of the Society to take luncheon at his house on Friday at one o'clock, the luncheon to be followed by a conversazione on American relations with the Orient. These invitations were accepted, with the thanks of the Society. The hospitality of the University Club and the Johns Hopkins Club was extended to the members of the Society during their stay in the city.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported on the correspondence for the year as follows: Letters were received from those elected to membership at the last meeting, all of whom accepted. As delegates to the Oriental Congress at Hamburg were appointed by the President, Professors Haupt, Oertel, and Jackson, to whom were added later Professors Lanman and Bloomfield, your Secretary in due course receiving the acceptance of each. In response to an invitation received from Swarthmore College to send a representative of the Society to the inauguration of Dr. Swain as President of the College, Dr. Gilman invited Professor Jastrow to represent the Society and the invitation was accepted. A letter of acknowledgment was sent by your Secretary to Mr. J. J. Modi, of the Parsi Panchayat, for gifts of books kindly sent to the Society. At the request of the Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsingfors), and of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, these societies were put on the exchange list. The editor of *Biblia* having requested the privilege of republishing the diagram accompanying Dr. Warren's recent paper (the diagram being published in the last number of the *Journal*), the request was granted in the name of the Society.

The following communications, received in the correspondence of the year, may be mentioned: A very kind greeting from our venerable member Mr. Louis Grout, whose work on the Zulu language appeared more than fifty years ago in the first volume of the *Journal*. Your Secretary suggests that this Society convey to Mr. Grout thanks for his greeting and the kind regards of the Society of which he has for so long been an honored member.

The Secretary then read communications from Professors Lanman, Moore, Torrey, and Dr. Grierson, already reported in this volume (above, pp. 390, 391); also a letter from Mr. Aiyer in regard to the chronology of the *Mahābhārata* with which was sent to the Society a copy of the writer's book, *The Chronology of Ancient India*, and, finally, letters from Professor Jackson in regard to his tour in Persia [now published in vol. xxiv., First Half, of this *Journal*].

The death of the following members of the Society was reported:

HONORARY MEMBER.

Professor Edward B. Cowell, Cambridge.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

President George S. Burroughs (1901).

Mrs. Oliver Crane.

Gen. Charles G. Loring.

Mr. Isaac Myer.

Principal Alfred M. Stratton.

OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF  
RELIGIONS.

Dr. Lewis G. Janes.

After making his report the Secretary said: Ex-president George S. Burroughs, of Wabash College, died at Clifton Springs, N. Y., on Oct. 22, 1901, but the Secretary was not informed of this in time to give notice of the fact in his last report. Mrs. Oliver Crane died in January and General Loring in August, 1902. Mr. Cowell's long career as Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge (England) is known to many. He took till the last an active interest in all that related to India. Of Mr. Stratton's brief but useful work as principal of the Lahore (Punjab) College, mention has been made in a paragraph prefixed to his article (on a dated Gandhāra figure) to appear in the forthcoming volume of the *Journal* (xxiv., First Half).

Remarks were made by Professors Bloomfield and Lanman on the life and work of Professor Stratton of Lahore, speaking of the breadth of his scholarship and interests, and of the loss which American learning has suffered in his early death. The hope was expressed that extracts from his scientific correspondence might be published.

Professor Haupt, as one of the representatives of the American Oriental Society at the International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, 1902, reported briefly on the Congress; and announced that the next Congress will meet in Algiers, in April, 1905.

The report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented through the Secretary, Professor Hopkins, and is as follows:

The Treasurer, in submitting his report of the Society's finances for the year 1902, adds a few explanations and observations. Dues were collected from 245 corporate members against 209 in 1901, and from 29 belonging to the section for the Historical Study of Religions against 20

the previous year. On the other hand, the proceeds from sales of publications were nearly thirty dollars less and the interest account shows a slight falling off owing to the reduction of the interest rate in Connecticut Savings banks. The net increase in gross receipts, amounting to \$328.79, is mainly due to the receipt of \$262.50 returned by the State National Bank of Boston, which in merging with another bank reduced its capital stock but added a fifty per cent. surplus, making the shares worth \$150 each.

The expenditures include the cost of manufacture of three half-volumes, the long-delayed Index (vol. xxi., first half) belonging properly to the year 1900. This extra charge and the subscriptions to the *Orientalische Bibliographie* and the reproduction of the Tübingen Atharva-Veda MS. raise the total expenses for the year \$884.26 above the receipts. In order to save him from withdrawing the sums reserved in the savings banks, the editors have very good-naturedly allowed the treasurer to delay payment of their honoraria until dues accumulate during the current year. Inasmuch as with its present membership the Society cannot count upon a net income of more than \$1,700, and as the cost of the yearly half-volumes approaches \$1,500, to which \$200 must be added for editorship, the Treasurer recommends the securing in future of such extra subventions and subscriptions as the Directors are disposed to approve from personal solicitations, in order that the funds of the Society may remain within the margin of safety. Though its active membership is now smaller than at any time since 1896, the proportion of members paying their dues is rather larger than it has been within that period owing to the prompt removal from the Society's list of those whose remittances are more than two years in arrears.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR  
ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1902.

RECEIPTS.		
Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1901 .....		\$1,043.88
Dues (188) for 1902 .....	\$940.00	
Dues (57) for other years .....	285.00	
Dues (29) for Hist. Sect. Relig. ....	58.00	
	\$1,283.00	
Sales of publications .....	246.24	
Returned in cap. red. State Nat. Bank .....	262.50	
State National Bank Dividends .....	\$105.61	
Interest Suffolk Savings Bank .....	8.73	
“ Prov. Inst. Savings .....	48.22	
“ Connecticut Savings Bank .....	18.91	
“ National Savings Bank .....	18.90	
	200.37	
Gross receipts for the year .....		1,992.11
		\$3,035.49

## EXPENDITURES.

T., M. & T. Co., printing Index vol.....	\$581.62	
“ “ vol. XXII <sup>2</sup> .....	794.67	
“ “ vol. XXIII <sup>1</sup> .....	653.68	
“ sundry printing .....	85.06	
	<hr/>	\$2,015.03
Subvention to Oriental. Bibliogr.....	95.56	
Subscription to Kashmir Atharva Veda....	250.00	
	<hr/>	\$345.56
Postage, etc., Secretary .....	6.00	
“ “ Librarian.....	7.54	
“ “ Treasurer.....	2.24	
	<hr/>	15.78
Gross expenditures for year.....		\$2,376.37
Credit balance to general account....		659.12
		<hr/>
		\$3,035.49

## STATEMENT.

	1901	1902
I. Bradley Type Fund .....	\$1,945.40	\$2,014.06
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Pr. Inst. Savings)	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. State National Bank Shares.....	1,870.00	1,950.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (Suffolk Savings).....	225.00	225.00
V. Connecticut Savings Bank deposit.....	500.00	500.00
VI. National Savings Bank.....	500.00	500.00
VII. Accrued Interest in II.....	366.29	414.51
VIII. “ “ IV.....	41.51	50.24
IX. “ “ V.....	35.90	54.81
X. “ “ VI.....	35.90	54.80
XI. Cash on hand .....	1,043.38	659.12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$7,583.38	\$7,422.54

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported through Professor Oertel as follows:

## REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

HANNS OERTEL, }  
FRANK K. SANDERS, } *Auditors.*

NEW HAVEN, CONN., April 3, 1903.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, was presented through the Secretary, Professor Hopkins, and is as follows:

The accessions to the Society's library by exchange and gift for the past year number 82 volumes, 80 parts of volumes and 32 pamphlets. Among them are included six volumes from the Parsi Panchayat, Bombay, and nine volumes from the Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsingfors.

The number of titles of printed works is now 5261, of manuscripts 188.

Respectfully submitted,

ADDISON VAN NAME.

NEW HAVEN, Apr. 15, 1903.

The report of the Editors of the Journal was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

The editors for the current year have brought out two parts of the Journal, the First Half and Second Half of vol. xxiii., containing 388 pages, including the proceedings of the last Meeting, the List of Members, and Notices, or 357 pages without the last two additions.

During the past year, the printers of the Journal, Messrs. Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, have procured, at their own expense, excellent new fonts of Ethiopic and Coptic type, which can be made available at once. The Coptic type has already been used in Professor Prince's article in the Second Half of vol. xxiii.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected (for convenience, the names of those elected at later sessions are included in this list):

#### HONORARY MEMBER.

Prof. Adolf Erman, Berlin, Germany.

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. L. C. Barret, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Paul Brönnle, London, Eng.

Mr. Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. George C. O. Haas, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Friedrich Hirth, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Charles T. Hock, Bloomfield, N. J.

Prof. J. A. Montgomery, Germantown, Phil., Pa.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dennis O'Connell, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Jean Parisot, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Walter M. Patton, Middletown, Conn.

The Very Rev. John R. Slattery, Baltimore, Md.

Prof. Edward Henry Strobel, Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Sidney A. Weston, Sharon, Mass.

Prof. Jens Iverson Westengard, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. James Owens Wrightson, Baltimore, Md.

## MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Prof. L. M. Keasbey, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Miss Margaretta Morris, Philadelphia, Pa.

[Total, 18.]

The President appointed Professors Lanman, Hyvernât, and Jastrow a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning.

At a quarter before twelve the Society proceeded to the reading of papers. The following communications were presented:

Dr. Blake, Sanskrit loan-words in Tagalog. Remarks were made by Messrs. Scott, Lanman, and Hirth.

Mr. Dennis, Egyptian stone implements.

Mr. Ember, The coronation of Aristobulus.

Professor Haupt, David's dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 17-27). Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.

Professor Hopkins, The temporal ablative.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess until half-past two. By the courtesy of Johns Hopkins University a lunch was provided for the members of the Society in the Dillmann Library.

The Society reassembled at half-past two. The following communications were presented:

Dr. Ward, Representations of Ea and Shamash in Babylonian art.

Professor Hyvernât, On Gen. vi. 14. Remarks were made by Messrs. Haupt, Ward, and Blaustein.

Professor Johnston, Cuneiform medicine. Professor Haupt, in commenting on the paper, announced that a collection of cuneiform texts dealing with medicine is shortly to be published in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*.

Professor Lanman laid before the Society a complete printed copy of Whitney's Commentary on the Atharva Veda, with an account of the plan of the work and an announcement of its completion. This was followed by critical notes on the Atharva Veda: 1. Errors due to ear or voice; 2. Twin-consonants in word-combination; 3. Haplography; 4. The nom. sing. masc. of *suhârd* and the nom. sing. neut. of *raksahân*; 5. On Kâuśika-Sûtra 86. 10. Remarks were made by Professors Hopkins and Bloomfield.

Dr. Littmann, Coptic words in modern Egyptian Arabic. Remarks were made by Professor Hyvernât.

Mr. McPherson, The words *sôrâh* and *nismân* in Isaiah xxviii. 25.

Professor Moore, The liver in divination and sacrifice.

Professor Oertel, Criticism of Knudtzon's hypothesis that two of the el-Amarna tablets were written in an Indo-European dia-



lect. Remarks were made by Messrs. Collitz, Jastrow, Bloomfield, and Haupt.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned to Friday morning.

The Society met on Friday morning at half-past nine, President Gilman presiding. The following communications were presented:

Dr. Tierney, A plea for the translation of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

Mr. Rosenau, Some Hebraisms in the New Testament.

Dr. Scott, The languages of the Philippine islands; their names and their number.

Dr. Sundberg, The Salibīyeh.

Professor Torrey, Two Jewish inscribed weights from Jerusalem.

Dr. F. J. Bliss, Royal stamps on jar-handles in Palestine.

Professor Hopkins called attention to the fact that the Society was this year sixty years old, having been founded in Sept., 1842.

Professor Johnston read a communication on Moses and Hamurabi.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Professor Jastrow. Remarks were made also by Professors Hopkins, Price, and Dr. Ward.

At twelve o'clock Dr. Ward took the chair.

Further communications were presented by Professor W. R. Arnold, The word פֶּרֶשִׁים in the Old Testament.

Mr. Barret, The first book of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda. Remarks were made by Professors Lanman and Bloomfield.

Professor Prince, after presenting by title Dr. Langdon's paper, Evidence for an advance upon Egypt by Sennacherib in 701 B.C., read a communication on Recent excavations in Babylonia, with especial reference to Hilprecht's treatment of the subject in his recent volume. Remarks were made by Professors Price and Moore.

The Society then took a recess till three o'clock.

By the hospitable invitation of President Gilman the members of the Society met at luncheon at his house, 614 Park Avenue. After luncheon, President Gilman, having pointed out the interest of the Society in the closer relations into which America has come in various ways with Asia, called attention to some recent publications of the United States government on the Philippines, especially to the Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary. Dr. Scott made some comment on this work.

Monsignor O'Connor, Rector of the Catholic University in Washington, at the invitation of the President, spoke of the

gratifying progress that was being made in the solution of the problems of the relation of the Church and the religious orders in the Philippines to the new order of things.

President Gilman spoke of the proposal made to the Government by the National Academy of Sciences for a comprehensive survey of the Philippines, and asked for this plan the interest and support of the Oriental Society.

The work of the Jesup expedition on the Northwest coast of America and the confronting region of the Asiatic coast was described, and parts of a letter from Dr. Franz Boas on the results of the exploration were read.

The President noticed also the geological exploration in China, supported by the Carnegie Institution; and Mr. Willis, of the United States Geological Survey, who is to conduct the preliminary investigation, spoke of what it was hoped might be achieved by the expedition.

President Gilman spoke, finally, of the geographical expedition about to be undertaken under the direction of the Carnegie Institution in Transcaucasia by Professors Pumpelly and Davis. Remarks were made by Professor Hirth.

The Society reassembled in the Donovan room at three o'clock, the Vice-President, Professor Charles R. Lanman, being in the chair. The session was set apart for the reading of papers in the Section for the Historical Study of Religions.

The first paper was read by Miss Morris, of Philadelphia, on the Economic Study of Religion. Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.

The Corresponding Secretary read parts of a letter from Professor Jackson, giving some account of his journey in Persia.

President Gilman spoke upon some of the archaeological researches proposed to the Carnegie Institution.

Professor Jastrow read a paper on The god Ashur. Remarks were made by Professor Haupt.

At a quarter after four, President Gilman having resumed the chair, Mr. Oussani read a paper on Mourning rites and customs in early Arabia. Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow and Dr. Bliss.

Professor Haupt read upon Bible and Babel.

President Ramsey, The term Higher Criticism.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned to Saturday morning.

The last session of the Society was held on Saturday morning, beginning at half-past nine o'clock, with President Gilman in the chair.

Professor Hopkins reported from the Directors that the next meeting of the Society would be held in Washington, beginning

on Thursday, April 7th, 1904; and that Professor Hyvernât and Dr. Cyrus Adler, with the Corresponding Secretary, had been appointed a Committee on Arrangements for that meeting.

Also that the Directors had reappointed the Editors of the Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey.

On the motion of Dr. Scott, it was resolved that a committee of six, of which the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member, be appointed, to make to the President of the United States such representations as they may think proper concerning the survey of the Philippine Islands. The committee was constituted as follows: Hon. W. W. Rockhill, Chairman; President D. C. Gilman, Professor Haupt, Dr. Scott, Monsignor O'Connell, Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year reported, and the following officers were unanimously elected:

*President*—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore, Md.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

*Recording Secretary*—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

*Secretary of the Section for Religions*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named; and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernât, of Washington; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

Professors Sanders and Oertel were appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer for the ensuing year.

The following resolution of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its sincere thanks to the Trustees of Johns Hopkins University for the use of their lecture-rooms and for hospitable entertainment; to the University Club and Johns Hopkins Clubs, for the use of their houses; to Dr. Gilman, the president of the Society, for his generous hospitality; and to the Committee of Arrangements, for their efficient services.

The following communications were presented:

Dr. Blake, Professor August Fischer's notes on the Siloam inscription.

Professor Bloomfield, The origin of the Sâma-Veda. Remarks were made by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.

Professor Prince, The Sumerian Belit-hymn, K. 257. Remarks were made by Professors Jastrow, Haupt, and Price.

Professor Collitz, The origin of the *ā* declension. Remarks were made by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor Price, A seal cylinder of the time of Sin-gashid, king of Erech.

Professor Torrey, The Constantinople edition of the Kitāb Masāiri: el-*Ḥuṣṣāq*.

Mr. Dennis, The transliteration of Egyptian.

Professor Haupt, Drugulin's Marksteine.

Professor Haupt, Difficult passages in the Gilgamesh epic.

Professor Lauman gave a brief synopsis of the subject of his two papers on Correspondences of Pāli diction with that of the Vedas.

He also laid before the Society Pāli lexicographical and morphological notes by Mr. Truman Michelson of Harvard University [on *terovassika*, *abbūlhesika*, *ācikkhi* and related words].

Mr. Seiple gave a synopsis of three papers on Popular Tagalog poetry, the Tagalog numerals, and on Recent papyrus finds in Egypt.

Mr. Oussani, Origin and development of the Arabic dialects. Remarks were made by Dr. Bliss.

Dr. Scott, Philippine words in English. Remarks were made by Dr. Bliss.

At twelve the Society adjourned to meet in Washington, D. C., April 7, 1904.

The following papers were presented by title:

Dr. Blake, Intransitive verbs in Hebrew; Dr. Foote, the diphthong *ai* in Hebrew; Some unwarranted innovations in the Hebrew text of the Bible; Mr. Oussani, Phonetic differences between the eastern and western dialects of Syria; Mr. Rose-nau, The Sonneborn collection of Jewish ceremonial objects.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, JANUARY, 1904.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- His Excellency, OTTO VON BOEHLINGK, Hospital Str. 25, Leipzig, Germany. 1844.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. Dr. ADOLF ERMANN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany, 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Goettingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1893.
- Prof. RICHARD PISCHEL, University of Berlin, Germany. (Passauer Str. 23, W. 50.) 1902.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.) Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.
- Prof. JULIUS WELHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.
- EDWARD W. WEST, c.o. A. A. West, Clyst House, Theydon Bois (Essex), England. 1899.
- Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890.

[Total, 25.]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with + are those of life members.

- Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D.D., Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.  
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.  
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.  
 Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.  
 Dr. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1893.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1894.  
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 LeROY CARR BARRET, Box 86, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 232 East 11th St., New York. 1894.  
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.  
 Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1898.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2106 Oak St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.  
 Rev. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Ph.D., 1525 McKean St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.  
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.  
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.  
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Dr. PAUL BRÖNNLE, 2 Lancaster Gardens, West Ealing, London, W., England. 1903.  
 Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, Lexington, Mass. 1896.  
 Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.  
 Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.  
 Rev. SIMON J. CARR, Ph.D., 1527 Church St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.  
 Dr. FRANKLIN CARTER, 324 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1873.

- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.  
 Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.  
 Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.  
 CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.  
 Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.  
 WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, 224 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.  
 †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.  
 Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.  
 WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.  
 STEWART CULIN, Brooklyn Institute Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.  
 Prof. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D., 45 Warren Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1902.  
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.  
 ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, 72 Federal St., Brunswick, Me. 1900.  
 JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 45 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.  
 Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.  
 Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Austin's College, Washington, D. C. 1897.  
 SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1854.  
 Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.  
 WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Prof. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.  
 Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.  
 Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.  
 Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, The Jumna Mission House, Allahâbâd, N. W. P., India. 1900.  
 Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 1079 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.  
 Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAX, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.  
 ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, 159 Church St., Mobile, Ala. 1894.  
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 121a Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China. 1900.  
 †Lady CAROLINE DE FILIPPI FITZ GERALD, 167 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1886.  
 Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 †FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.  
 Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR. (Princeton University), Princeton, N. J. 1883.  
 Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.  
 ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1901.

- Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Dr. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, 614 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
- LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 60 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
- Rev. A. KINGSLEY GLOVER, Auburn, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.
- JACOB GRAPE, JR., 1618 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
- LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D., 53 Second Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
- †Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. 1899.
- MISS LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 633 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1894.
- MISS LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India. 1898.
- Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 1897.
- Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 236 Custer Ave., Youngstown, O. 1894.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
- CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
- Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
- GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 64 Seventh St., Manhattan, N. Y. 1903.
- Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmain, and Raheng). 1902.
- Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
- Pres. WILLIAM RAINY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
- Prof. SAMUEL HART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.
- Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. RICHARD HENEBRY, Ph.D., 1738 Logan Ave., Denver, Col. 1900.
- Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, 503 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Seminary), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
- Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 806 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- WALTER DAVID HOPKINS, 1037 Bargar St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D. (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
- ROBERT E. HUME, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
- Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
- HENRY MINOR HUXLEY, 31 William St., Worcester, Mass.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.



- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
- Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 79, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
- Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins University), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
- Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Rev. GEORGE A. KOHUT, 44 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- STEPHEN HERBERT LANGDON, 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.
- †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph.D., Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Shanghai, China. 1900.
- †HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- Prof. C. S. LEAVENWORTH, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China. 1900.
- Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
- ROBERT LILLEY, Grafton, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
- Dr. ENNO LITTMANN, University Library, Princeton, N. J. 1902.
- Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 89 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Putnam & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- †BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Girgeh, Upper Egypt. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, Ph.D., 629 Salem St., Malden, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Redfield, South Dakota. 1887.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
- WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
- Mrs. MATILDA R. McCONNELL, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Rev. JOHN McFADYEN, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1899.
- Rev. W. B. MCPHERSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.

- TRUMAN MICHELSON, 55 Sacramento St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard University), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- †Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, 88 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
- Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Woodstock, Howard Co., Maryland. 1889.
- Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS T. O'CONNELL, D.D. (Catholic University), Washington, D. C. 1903.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., 398 Western Ave., Albany, N. Y. 1898.
- GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
- †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
- Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.
- Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
- JEAN PARISOT, East Douglas, Mass. 1903.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Dr. WALTER W. PATTON, Middlefield, Conn. 1903.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
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- MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
- WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Rev. F. L. HAWKES POTT, St. John's College, Shanghai, China. 1901.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, care of Putnam Sons, West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
- HORACE M. RAMSEY, General Theological Seminary, 2 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1902.

- Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Girgeh, Egypt. 1891.  
 ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.  
 J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 219 Bleecker St., Toronto, Ont. 1902.  
 EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, care The Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1880.  
 Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.  
 Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
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 WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 Rev. HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., 120 Remsen St., Astoria, L. I. 1899.  
 DAVID BRAINERD SPOONER, The Sanskrit College, Benares, India. 1902.  
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 Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.  
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 JOSEPH TRUMBULL STICKNEY, 4 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
 Prof. EDWARD HENRY STROBEL, care Foreign Office, Bangkok, Siam. 1903.  
 MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Rev. J. J. TIERNEY, D.D., Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.

- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
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- Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
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- MISS CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
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- Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, New Jersey. 1893.
- CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
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- FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
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- Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 233 N. 24th St., Portland, Oregon. 1894.
- HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Church of The Holy Comforter, 19th and Titan Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1893.
- WILLIAM W. WOOD, 1604 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D., 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
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[TOTAL, 256.]

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- Prof. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
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 Prof. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
 Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
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 FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
 Rev. CHARLES S. SANDERS, Aintab, Turkey. 1902.  
 Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
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 Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.  
 Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.  
 Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.  
 Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.  
 Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.  
 Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.

- Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.  
 Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.  
 Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.  
 A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.  
 HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.  
 Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*),  
 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.  
 Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.  
 Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.  
 Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.  
 Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.  
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 Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.  
 Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, 5817 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1881.  
 ALPHONSE PINART. [Address desired.] 1871.  
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 Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.  
 Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERESCHEWSKY, Shanghai, China.  
 Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.  
 Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, 313 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1893.  
 Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSEN, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla,  
 Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.  
 Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Meriden, Conn.  
 Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean  
 Grove, N. J.) 1873.  
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- FRANCE, PARIS : Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)  
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- GERMANY, BERLIN : Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Königlische Bibliothek.  
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- GÖTTINGEN : Königlische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 HALLE : Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)
- LEIPZIG : Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)
- MUNICH : Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Königlische Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- TÜBINGEN : Library of the University.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON : Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.  
 (22 Albemarle St., W.)  
 Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)  
 Society of Biblical Archaeology. (87 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)  
 Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)
- ITALY, FLORENCE : Società Asiatica Italiana.  
 ROME : Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM : Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.  
 THE HAGUE : Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.  
 LEYDEN : Curatorium of the University.
- RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS : Société Finno-Ougrienne.  
 ST. PETERSBURG : Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.  
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- CEYLON, COLOMBO : Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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 SHANGHAI : China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- TONKIN : l'école Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.
- INDIA, BOMBAY : Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
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Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Oriental Bibliography (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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With Amendments of April, 1897.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be :—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall

also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

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2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: The Library of the American Oriental Society, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America.

3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins or Prof. Charles C. Torrey, New Haven.

## CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is \$5. The fee for Life-Membership is \$75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religion may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is \$2; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.





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*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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